

THE ROLE OF THE MARRIAGE MARRIAGE IN THE DRAVING OF THE MODERN  
LATIN AMERICAN CETERA: 1970-1980

By

J. B. COLEMAN

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THE ROLE OF THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASS IN THE EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN  
LATIN AMERICAN CITY QUITO, 1900-1950

By

J. D. COLLIER

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Chairman: Dr. Richard Schneider  
Major Department: College of Architecture

The growth experienced by Latin American cities during the period 1900 to 1950 was unprecedented in magnitude. This sudden growth severely stressed the ability of the cities offered to cope with the problems associated with urban expansion, particularly the problem of housing.

The solutions to this and other attendant problems were unique to the region and its cultural heritage. This heritage included traditions of kinship and community whose origins derive from both Spain and native American cultures. In addressing the housing problem, the public and private sectors were joined by a third socioeconomic group virtuously

unknown in the industrialized world--the informal sector. The urban migrants that compose this sector are generally poor, disenfranchised, and marginal, but unlike the poor in North America, organized and ambitious. When government programs failed to meet their demand for land and housing, the informal sector moved to occupy unused land--abandoned agricultural land, city land designated for future recreational uses, ecologically zoned land, vacant land of old mines and destructions.

This dissertation investigates and explains this phenomenon as it has occurred in Quito, Ecuador: its historical and cultural context, the process of settlement, reactions from the public sector, and most importantly, the effect on the nature and shape of the city.

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION: SCOPE AND FRAMEWORK OF STUDY

It is men that make the city, not the wall and ships  
without them, (Thucydides vii, 42)

Statement of Purpose

For four hundred years, most Latin American cities remained within the boundaries established by their Spanish and Portuguese founders. Suddenly, in the mid-twentieth century, they exploded beyond these boundaries in a crescendo that transcended topographic features. Bridges were constructed, harbors created, hills leveled, mountains tunneled through, highways built.

This growth has defied the orderly process North American and European planners have imposed upon their cities. Latin American planners, many of whom have been trained in Europe or North America or at the very least trained in those formal expectations, have likewise been frustrated with their lack of control at the process of growth in their cities. The city strays up mountains and into valleys; ancient farmland is completely villages become part of the city, land is subdivided and buildings built in defiance of building and zoning ordinances. Sometimes the



expansion follows new road construction: either these new roads must be built to the new settlements. And always basic services--electricity, potable water, sanitary sewage--remain one step or more behind development. To confuse matters further, the players in the growth process that we have come to expect, particularly in North America--the government and private developer, often working in conjunction--are joined in Latin America by a third party, the urban migrant, who is generally poor, disenfranchised, marginal, but unlike in North America, organized and focused. Furthermore, the relationships between these parties are different than in North America. In Latin America, the success of speculation by private enterprises are looked upon by both the government and its citizens as highly suspect, a force to be controlled. The legacy of Spanish law and legal traditions have given Latin American governments the tools to control rampant speculation not determined to be in the best interests of the prevailing paradigm, which has been based upon central planning theory--

The land hungry urban migrant is another matter. Force has failed to stem the tide. Land redistribution and government-funded developments have fallen far short of the demand for land and housing in the cities of Latin America. And yet these cities work. They are business of construction activities from house building to skyscraper

construction. The sidewalks are packed with people, the streets with cars. The air is unbearable, the noise deafening, the smells overwhelming, the pace frenetic. Is this chaos theory at work? Or is there an order beneath the perceived chaos? Is there a different order that tolerates or even generates the apparent chaos, the intuitive city that Jonathan Katz talks about in Soft City, the city of people triumphant over institutions? And how does this city work? What is this subversion of order? And how does it relate to the institutions we are familiar with--state and local agencies, elected officials, private and semi-private service institutions?

Through a study of Quito during its period of unprecedented growth, 1950-1980, this dissertation will attempt to answer these questions, at least in part, by investigating and evaluating the role that the urban migrant has played in the shaping of Quito in particular and the Latin American city in general.

In this study, I will establish a basis for recognizing the contributions of the informal sector to the shaping of the Latin American city and show how, in the case of Quito, Ecuador, informal settlements have become integrated into the urban fabric.

To do this, I will compare and contrast the results of studies of settlement patterns in Latin America in general

with the experience of urban growth in Quito and the specific processes of participation in that growth by the informal sector that has existed in that city. Evidence of the integration of informal settlements into the urban fabric will be based upon the extension of urban services (infrastructure, social, and health services) by the municipality to these settlements and the participation of settlement populations in the economic and political life of the city.

### Importance of Research

Historians, influenced by Edward H. Carr and the French Annales, have begun to acknowledge both enormous forces and forces from below in the shaping of history. In the field of urban history, Spiro Kostoff has argued the role and flow of "the creation of cities by the will of the people, without benefit of kingship or priesthood or the warring of cities from such authority" (Kostoff 1984, 36). In the case of the Latin American city, this study will address the shaping of the city by forces outside of the formal planning process.

Bernardo de Soto, through the data-collecting activities of his organization, the Instituto Libertad y Democracia (ILD), has documented the impact of the informal sector on most facets of the national experience in Latin America (de Soto et al. 1987). This study will build upon

and elaborates on the impact of the informal sector on the urban form of the Latin American city. It is no contention that the urban migrant, *de São's* *marginal*, has been a major factor in the shaping of the Latin American city. Although the nature of migration has remained essentially the same from colonial times, the dramatic movement of population from rural areas to urban in the 1950-1960 decade that occurred throughout Latin America resulted in a loss of control of the planning function by national and municipal agencies. These agencies were overcome by demands for land and housing that could not be met through the conventional administrative structures of the state and city. Control over the shaping of the city passed from a long-established bureaucracy to a well-organized, populist base. Numerous sociological and anthropological studies have documented the characteristics of this popular sector. These studies have generally concentrated on the changes that occur to these groups as a result of the urban environment, whereas, conversely, this study will focus on the contribution of the migrant to the physical and demographic shape of the city. As John Friedson suggests, there is a subtle shift in power in Latin American cities:

In many of the working-class barrios of Latin America, a new politics is taking shape. What appears to be happening is an extraordinary revival of people's power (popular politics). Instead of seeking a violent solution, however, as in classical revolutionary practice, people's power is, at least for now, engaged

and increasingly conscious of itself in the daily struggle for physical existence, in processes of collective self-empowerment, and in the conscious defense of its territorial base. Emerging new forms of people's organizations may be interpreted as prefiguring the future of the Latin American city, with its strength in the barrio rather than in the institutions still symbolically arranged around the Plaza de Armas or more recent citadels of oppression. (Polachuk 1983, 108)

While the shape and growth of Latin American cities have proceeded uncontrolled, Latin American municipal governments, to their credit, have been remarkably resilient and effective in responding to the demands for social as well as basic services of a rapidly growing population and expanding geographic areas, despite severe economic limitations during the 1970s. By extending these services to unplanned and often illegal settlements, cities have accepted these areas into the city and facilitated their inclusion in the urban fabric. However, they have failed, by and large, to acknowledge the legitimacy and positive contributions of the informal sector to the physical, social, and economic life of the city.

I believe that it is critically important that the national and municipal governments of Latin America recognize the power that resides in the urban masses and take steps to legitimize this power within the framework of their political systems. To that end, this analysis is directed specifically toward urban planners and policy makers who ought consider its implications in future plans

and policies aimed at surviving, accommodating, and absorbing the new settlers and settlement patterns within the larger context of the Latin American metropolis, and further, to take steps to legitimize the de facto role of populist groups.

### Relationship to the literature

In a very general sense, urban literature falls into five categories: (1) description, (2) explanation, (3) prediction, (4) judgment, and (5) implementation and management (Therall 1988). Urbanists themselves come from many disciplines, and each discipline seems to focus on one or more of these five activities. Anthropologists, sociologists, and historians are most concerned with description and explanation, political scientists with these two activities plus prediction. Urban planners and others who are involved in government and policy-making are mostly concerned with judgment or evaluation, implementation and management. Geographers are perhaps the most integrated of the academic disciplines and may engage in all five activities under the rubric of geographic information systems (GIS).

Current Latin American urban literature falls into these categories: (1) attempts at a multi-disciplined synthesis; (2) edited collections that present a number of

viewpoints contributing to an understanding of the process of urbanization; and, too numerous to list, (3) works that reflect the specific disciplines and specialized focus of their authors.

This work is structured as a multi-disciplined synthesis limited to descriptive and interpretive research with limited forays into the areas of prediction and evaluation.

### Major Theoretical Issues

In the introduction to Urbanization in Contemporary Latin America (1982), Alan Gilbert notes that during the 1970s there was a major intellectual shift in the social sciences "from a broadly positivistic and normative stance towards a more structuralist, political-economic approach to academic inquiry" (Gilbert 1982, 2). According to Gilbert, the new approach:

1. Emphasizes class differences and social conflicts
2. Recognizes the historical roots of current problems
3. Identifies the differential effects of capitalism with phenomena occurring in the developing world
4. Shifts the emphasis from the individual to social groups
5. Views the state as an "integral element in class conflict"

The interpretation indicated by up research is that population pressures resulting from migration to the city

have forced decisions about the use of capital and technology on the metropolitan and national governments of Latin America that have shaped the Latin American city. In this dissertation, I will be addressing the above-listed issues of class differences and conflicts, historical roots, the effects of capitalism on non-capitalistic groups, group behavior as a function of a specific social group, and the state as a major but extraneous element in the social dynamic.

José Luis Fajana (1984), *Peruando de Data et al.* (1987), and others have done much to correct the "myth of marginality." These theories of urban revolutionism have been based mostly on studies of cities in Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, and Lima, Peru. There have been few studies of Quito by outsiders-- Quito and Ecuador in general have remained outside the mainstream of academic research. Ecuador is a small country that enjoyed its moment in the limelight during the years of liberation in the last century. Since then, it has had a quiet and relatively successful history, interrupted only by occasional conflicts with Peru. Its internal political history has been free of oppression. Political assassinations have been rare. Governments have changed hands peacefully, if not always constitutionally. And although the national government has not been free of corruption, the government of its capital, Quito, has had a



long reputation for honesty and responsibility, at least at the national level.

Quito is one of three high mountain capitals in South America. It is constrained in a long, narrow valley bordered by rugged mountains. This geographic distinction, along with its national and cultural heritage, suggests that its urban experience might be unique and offer further insight into Latin American urban theory.

#### Research Methods

Evidence to analyze these conditions and issues comes from three basic sources:

1. Written records, maps, and reports
2. Informal observers
3. Personal observation and evaluation of existing conditions

Written records and reports include records and publications of national and municipal agencies, maps, charts, and photographs, as well as histories and case studies. As the capital of Ecuador, Quito is home to the nation's major institutions. The libraries and archives of the Instituto Geográfico Militar and the Banco Nacional were of particular value in gathering information for this study. Quito has also had a long history as an educational center: it is home to the nation's major universities as well as a number of independent research institutions. Although modestly endowed with books by South American standards, the

libraries of the Universidad Católica, Universidad Central, and the municipal library at Cienfuegos provided locally published works, unpublished manuscripts, and dissertations that proved valuable to this work. However, the treasure trove of information was found in the libraries of the private research institutions IANIGLA, ILICEX, ORSTOM, and, most importantly, CIUDAH. Standard methodology included evaluation of sources and verification of information whenever possible.

Since the period under study is recent history, oral evidence has played an important part in interpreting and understanding the growth process, from the standpoint of both municipal and national administrators. Developed over three summers in Quito, my sources have included an urban planner with a private practice in Quito, an architect and director of the Museo Nacional, an architect of the Dirección de Planificación, an architect and the Coordinator General of the Fondo Ecuatoriano, a historian, a civil servant with the Congress Nacional, a retired engineer from the Empresa Eléctrica Quito, and the man in the street, which has included shopkeepers, taxi drivers, and housewives. Although subject to the vagaries of time, these have helped in evaluating and verifying written records and providing a context to understanding the process of growth covered by this investigation.

Quinn Meade offered a wealth of physical evidence of the past. Building murals, even on a demolished wall, and can be classified and dated. Streets are not easily changed or obliterated, nor are sidewalks and steps. Street features, such as lighting standards, provide an important element in dating the entrance of visitors to various areas. Sewer covers and drain inlets often provide similar information. All offer physical evidence of the growth and evolution of the city. This evidence was gathered from visits to twenty-five neighborhoods representing historic villages absorbed by the city (Cotacotilla, La Magdalena), established illegal settlements (Comita del Pueblo), recent illegal settlements (Loma de Inabunda), private developments (Torreblanca), and planned communities (Elencosta). Appendix A provides a completed list of areas visited, their approximate dates of settlement, and other characteristics. Appendix B is a copy of the data form I used to evaluate these neighborhoods.

The structure of my research has followed this pattern:

1. Historical (prehistory) research
2. Development of a chronology
3. Identification of the zone given
4. Description of the process of growth
5. Comparison with existing theory

#### 6. Physical environment

#### 7. Recording the findings

The topic of this research involves events from the past, human organizations, and the physical conditions and artifacts of the city: topography, climatology, buildings, streets, walls, lights, utility systems, etc. The method that I have used incorporates systematic approaches used by the disciplines of history (researching and evaluating the written records), anthropology (interviewing informants and observing human activities), geography (study of the topographic and physical characteristics of the urban environment), and architecture (observing and recording the built environment) to obtain evidence from the past, gain knowledge of social and political activities, and evaluate the built environment as it relates to urban growth and change. If my assumptions are correct, this research will offer further evidence for the recognition of the importance of the urban migrant in the shaping of the Latin American city and will contribute to the understanding of the participation of the informal sector in the shaping of Latin American cities.

CHAPTER 2  
URBAN THEORY AND LATIN AMERICA: THE LITERATURE

The literature relative to this research can be divided into three categories: urbanists who provide a context and framework for an urban history and analysis, those who are specialists in the urban development of Latin America, and those whose work is specific to quito.

The Urbanists

The scope and framework for this study have been largely inspired by the work of Fernand Braudel. Braudel was one of the most influential of the era, the French movement that attempted to break down the barriers between disciplines and create a new interdisciplinary approach to history. The scales sought to broaden the scope of historiography, to include economics, geography, and sociology within the traditional framework of historical--politics and diplomacy. As Braudel said:

History was for them not barren science among others, without even standing on tiptoe, the historian could glimpse the fields and gardens of the neighboring disciplines. Was it so complicated then, so extraordinary, to not only to see what was happening there, to place in favor of a community of the human sciences, despite the walls that separated them from one another. (Braudel 1973, xxiii)

Braudel's most comprehensive work was Le Méditerranée au long terme méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II (1949), which he wrote while a prisoner of the Germans during World War II. His background included teaching in Brazil and North Africa. His insight into the cultures of Latin America and the Arabs can be found in his Le mouvement de la civilisation (1954), which has been translated as A History of Civilizations (1959).

In Civilisation matérielle et精神文明 (1967) Braudel acknowledged the place of cities and the process of urbanization in the development of civilization. In a later volume, he states that "only primitive or undeveloped societies have not experienced the urban phenomenon" (Braudel 1973, 134), and adds rhetorically, "What is civilization if not the smallest settlement of a certain section of mankind in a certain place" (Braudel 1973, 142). Moreover, Braudel prompted and perhaps suggested Jose Jacobs' thesis by relating the role of cities in the history of Europe: these cities lost their vitality to the "anonymous body of the state" (Braudel 1973, 134), and further, "the wealth of the state is the wealth of the city" (Braudel 1973, 401).<sup>1</sup>

Two twentieth-century historians have written comprehensive urban histories--Lewis Mumford and Spiro Kostof. Lewis Mumford was a vague intellectual, anti-

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<sup>1</sup>This thesis was well developed by Jose Jacobs (1984).

acknowledged, and the home of conventional planners and urbanists. His flirtation with communism in the Thirties and his continued criticism of capitalists did not improve his standing with most planners and city officials in the United States. Nevertheless, he was widely read by students in the nation and overseas and, if the continuation in publication of his works is any evidence, still has an audience.<sup>2</sup> His unconventional life and views did not prevent his obtaining recognition during his long life. Among other honors, he was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Mumford, more so than anyone until recent times, provided a vision of urbanization over the long span of history, although, as he himself admits, mainly from the viewpoint of Western civilization. His approach to urban analysis forms the methodological key to my research:

No town plan can be adequately described in terms of its two-dimensional pattern. For it is only in the third dimension, through movement in space, and in the fourth dimension, through transformation in time, that the functional and aesthetic relationships come to life. (Mumford 1961, 328)

Mumford's theories of urbanization have not been so much challenged as rebuttled. The architectural historian, Spiro Kostof, has written two books that both pay

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<sup>2</sup>His classic, *The City in History* was re-issued in 1961, a third printing in 1965, and a third edition of *Technique and Civilization* was re-released in paperback in 1979. Almost all of his work remains available during the height of his influence in the 1970s.

homage to Mumford and expand on a number of his theories, as well as bring into consideration, at least in passing, the development of cities in non-Western civilizations. These two complementary works, The City Awakened (1980) and The City Shaped (1981), address the issues of the city as process and the city as form. In doing so, Mumford has provided the context for a consideration of Latin American urbanization and a theoretical framework within which the Latin American city can be evaluated. This framework is based upon Aristotle's concept of *symploke*, which can best be translated as a political agreement to live together, "to transcend tribal/pastoral ways and join up in an act of self-government" (Mumford 1981, 48). Although the act of settling as a community sounds like a simple and logical decision, Mumford acknowledges that the reasons for urbanization are complex and that theories based upon climate, geography, war, and trade, all have their merits. Nonetheless, Mumford sounds very much like Aristotle when he states that

The decision to go urban is not the result of clever and technological advances or a strategy to reap a finite advantage like trade. It springs from a conscious desire to replace the common law of tribe and clan with the free, durable institutions of the polis, the setting for experiments in democracy and the rule of equity. (Mumford 1981, 48)

In this case, Mumford is referring to the development of the Meso city, most likely through the eyes of Aristotle. In



Greek urban theory, good people live in cities. The city gave them their sense of identity and self-worth. Those who violated moral standards were banished from the city. To the Greeks, the city was a righteous assembly of people, a polis.

However, as Rostof admits, the powerful can have whatever city form they desire: power begets cities. The Greek polis fell before the aristocratic rulers of the Hellenistic world and the Romans who conquered this civilization. Finally, in Medieval Europe, the people eventually regained control of the cities. Once again, there was a collective presence, "a moral imperative, a parity of citizens in charge of their destiny and urban form" (Rostof 1981, 37). This new polis was overwhelmed as much by its new wealth as by the complexities of industrialization. Thus, what has emerged in Western Europe and most of North America is the managed city, of which Rostof has less than kind words:

In the end, all ideal city forms are a little demeaning. Life cannot be regulated . . . except in totally artificial units like universities and universities and concentration camps where subordinates must willingly or are constrained without choice. Left to its own devices, human nature is resistant to regulation, while it may crave for order. (Rostof 1981, 387)

The founders of the managed city, the planned city, included those of the practical school, who considered the city a machine, typified by Le Corbusier and Paolo Soleri; and

the founders of the managed city, the planned city, included those of the practical school, who considered the city a machine, typified by Le Corbusier and Paolo Soleri; and those who created the organic model so popular in the anti-modernist past: Frederick Law Olmsted, Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes, and Lewis Mumford.

A number of modern urban critics have tried to take to task the ghosts of the past. Jonathan Raban accuses Mumford, along with Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard, of shifting the emphasis "from the inner to the outer man, from the spiritual to the technical" (Raban 1974, 14).

Individual reason had failed the city as they resorted to a home-made view of science, sociology, and bureaucratic administration. It was called, innocuously enough, town planning. (Raban 1974, 14)

Raban falls in line with Jane Jacobs, whose most recent thesis has been that cities are the economic driving forces of a nation. Mumford and Jacobs had parted ways over the primacy of agriculture in the process of urbanization. As Raban succinctly states Jacobs's position: "Cities do not necessarily grow out of the excess production of their pre-existing rural hinterlands; as often as not, it is the city which enables the spread of farming as its satellite" (Raban 1974, 14).

Another contemporary urban critic, Joe Bollen, in his irreverent article, "Red Maurice Ith: Metropolitans in the Making" (1980), supports Mumford's conclusions about

technology and is even more virulent in attacking  
capitalism than Mumford:

The pace of technological innovation, far from  
encouraging a gradual raising of educational and  
technical standards and a corresponding expansion of  
job opportunities, simply accelerates a "de-skilling"  
process inherent in capitalistic enterprise. Muller  
1990, 147)<sup>1</sup>

More important to the thesis of this study is Gullen's  
observation that post-industrial societies, which are common  
to the developing world, are simply more effective versions  
of the industrial factory system, which "appropriated  
worker's control over the means of production and  
progressively de-skilled vast sections of society (Gullen  
1990, 147). Even more to the point, Gullen sees the  
disappearance of the informal sector of the economic base of  
the city and its concentration in the hands of the state and  
corporate enterprises as the end of economic innovation.

This conflict between city and state, a life-and-death  
struggle in many industrialized nations, is irrelevant in  
most of Latin America, where the city is the state. Where  
conflict does exist within Latin American countries, it is  
generally between rival cities. Caracas and Maracaibo in  
Venezuela; Bogot , Cali, and Medell n in Colombia; Santiago  
and Valpara so in Chile; Rio de Janeiro and S o Paulo in  
Brazil; and in Ecuador, Guayaquil and Quito. In Latin

<sup>1</sup>See also Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* 1934b,  
particularly Chapter 8, Section 4 "The Displacement of the  
Peasantry."

America, cities dominate both the economic and political lives of their nations. These cities offer another contrast to North American and European cities, one that this study will explore: Latin American cities are exemplars of the return of the polis.

The Latin American advocates of rational planning and the managed city, many of them trained in the United States and Europe and overwhelmed by almost logarithmic growth, have lost the initiative in the shaping of their cities. This vacuum has been filled, out of necessity, by the people, the poor people, the *sectores populares*, the *marginales*. Planners and other public officials, nevertheless, play an important role in the allocation of public services and in the frustration or facilitation of popular settlement patterns. This struggle, sometimes peaceful and sometimes violent, is one with which Latin American specialists are all too familiar.<sup>4</sup>

#### Latin American Specializing

This important distinction and other arguments supporting the uniqueness of the Latin American urban context have been presented by a number of urbanists from Latin America. Latin American scholars have emerged from the national and regional systems as characteristic during

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<sup>4</sup>See articles by Richard S. Harp, "Urban as People" (Harp 1981).

the first half of this century to speak eloquently of the problems unique to their culture.<sup>5</sup> In the field of urban history, the Argentine architect and urbanist, Joseph Enrique Hardy, has led the way. Hardy is the Lewis Mumford of Latin America. His prodigious body of work has investigated Latin American urban development from pre-colonial times to the present.

Hardy very early on had supported the theory that pre-Columbian civilizations were urban-based civilizations, that the cities of Meso-America and the Andes were not just ceremonial centers, but true working cities (Hardy 1944). A substantial body of evidence developed by revisionist archaeologists, such as Irving Rouseff (1960) in Meso-America and Michael Hensley (1962) in the Andes, has supported Hardy's theory.

likewise, Hardy has always insisted on the continuity of an indigenous urban presence. In the Andean area, this position has been well-documented by the work of Steve Klein (1961) in Peru and Martin Macho (1964) in Quito. Their work has shown that not only did the Indians build the Spanish cities, but they also continued in their urban

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<sup>5</sup>Guillermo O'Donnell commented on the conditions faced by Latin American scholars in the recent past: "Not only were personnel, library, and computer resources vastly inferior, but there was also little interest on the part of local universities to allocate funds to study other Latin American countries" (1979).

professions as barbers, waiters, peddlers, metalsmiths, mechanics, and artisans.

Realizing the historic continuity of indigenous urbanization is critical to understanding subsequent periods of migration and the mass movement to cities that occurred in Latin America in the twentieth century. As anthropologists, such as Douglas Raderworth and John Chaste, whose specialty is migration, discovered, the most constant factor in migration is the existence of relatives in the city of choice (Raderworth and Chaste 1981). In these traditional societies, there is no such thing as the solitary pathfinder. The Indians, the marginals of the past, were always in the cities.

But most important to this study is Harber's contemporary stand supporting urban solutions unique to Latin America and the realization that the informal sector is part of the solution, not the problem.

Four people demonstrate great ingenuity in developing their new residential neighborhoods and in expediting the construction of housing . . . . Their ways, their plans, their design and their building materials are often far better suited to local needs, local mores, local climatic conditions and local resources than the official, legal standards demanded by local governments. (Harber and Satterthwaite 1985, 14)

My research supports Harber's contention that the poor, the marginals, are the true builders of much of their cities (Harber and Satterthwaite 1985, 17) and that "the people

themselves have become the modern builders of Latin American cities" (Hendry 1982, 201).

A number of other urbanists have complicated Hendry's work and provided insight and information for this paper. The historian, Jaime Halperin Donghi, has written the classic overview of contemporary Latin American history, Historia contemporánea de América Latina (1983), while Alejandro Portes has provided a contemporary urban focus in a number of studies (1974-75, 1988). Hendry's theories on colonial urban development have been sustained by José Leonardo Martínez (1972), as well as by the urban historian, Francisco de Sousa (1988).

These scholars have contributed to the internationalization of scholarship in Latin America, both by their studies and travel abroad and by their multi-regional and multi-national foci. Their insights have transcended their particular specialities. These changes were directly related to the increased access to libraries in the United States by Latin Americans beginning in the 1950s. This access was made possible by the influx of money available to Latin American scholars from private and federal sources, following Fidel Castro's Cuban Revolution. It has been said the Castro was the father of contemporary Latin American studies (Hend 1972, 128). Thanks to Castro, access to cooperative work found in the generously endowed libraries

of the United States and Europe, as well as the psychological perspective of viewing their history from an outside culture, has created a group of Latin American scholars in the process of diffusing new conceptual and theoretical trends in their respective areas of expertise (Malpica 1989, 15).

However, there have been some negative effects of this trend. Latin American scholars tend to compare their regions and nations with the United States and Europe. As a result, they are often their own worst critics. Likewise, professionals trained in the schools of Europe and the United States have attempted to graft the latest theories on Latin American societies without questioning the validity of transferring these approaches to a dissimilar culture. The results are often catastrophic.<sup>1</sup> This paper presents some of these applications in the field of urban development.

Douglas Burtnerworth and John K. Chaceon collaborated on a work that identified many of the urban diseases inherent in the process of urbanization in Latin America, Latin American Urbanization (1981). As indicated earlier, their work focused on migration as the cause of urban growth. They raise a number of important points about migration:

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<sup>1</sup>See Hirstoy's article, "Theory and Practice of Urban Planning in Europe, 1850-1930: The Influence in Latin America" (Hirstoy 1912).



1. Migration is not some historical abnormality resulting from political chaos, natural catastrophe, or economic deprivation. Although these factors may contribute, the largest migrations occur at times of economic prosperity and political stability, as was the case throughout most of Latin America at the time under study.
2. Migration is not a recent phenomenon. It has been characteristic of Latin America from colonial times and probably before.
3. It is not the poorest or least educated who migrate. Bullenworth and Chance found that migrants were most likely to have at least five years of schooling and were literate and bilingual, speaking both their native dialect and Spanish.
4. Those with skills were more likely to migrate than those without.
5. Women tend to migrate as often as men.
6. The only selective factor operating seems to be age. Younger people tend to migrate more often than older people.

Bullenworth and Chance have advanced not only the understanding of the dynamics of migration, but have also made a significant contribution to the understanding of the Latin American city and, specifically, migrant behaviour patterns in the city. They support Haring's argument for the continual presence of indigenous populations in the cities of Latin America from colonial times to the present, as well as his contention that Latin American cities cannot

be classified as pre-industrial since they were not a product of feudalism, but of the Renaissance.<sup>2</sup>

Since the vast majority of urban migrants in Latin America and the Andes are characteristically indigenous, the continuity of indigenous presence in these regions is an important aspect of urban growth from migration. Rural-urban migrants gravitate to cities where there is a kinship connection. Moreover, this kinship network in the city plays a crucial role in the integration of the migrant into urban life. Butterworth and Chance have concluded that not only is this integration successful, but also that the expectations of the migrant for better housing, education, medical care, and economic opportunities are almost invariably realized (Butterworth and Chance 1981).

Robert Sanger's exhaustive studies of Michoacán migrants to Mexico City supports the work of Butterworth and Chance and expands the analysis of the conditions of rural migrants to the city (Sanger 1976, 1977, 1980). Sanger's work reveals that recent migrants:

1. live in stable nuclear families
2. succeed in establishing and maintaining a secure economic niche through a combination of tenured jobs and entrepreneurial ventures
3. reflect a lifestyle that is more equidistant between the urban than in traditional village life

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<sup>2</sup>Classical封建ism, which led to the Industrial Revolution in Northern Europe, never existed either in Spain or Spanish America (Butterworth and Chance 1981, 27). See also Green (1973, 189-9).

4. Resolve conflicts in a more democratic fashion than in traditional village practice
5. Are less authoritarian and more affectionate toward their children than those in a traditional village environment
6. Are successful in keeping their children in school
7. Enjoy more consumer goods, such as television, radio, appliances, and telephones than villagers
8. Inhabit dwellings with more conveniences, such as plumbing, hard floors, glass windows, etc. than villagers, although urban dwellings tended to be smaller

The standard of living and stability of family life are even more surprising when one realizes that the Machaco migrants do not live in ethnic enclaves, but are spread throughout the city.

Kemper also described the process of urban adaptation that has been found to be typical throughout Latin America. The new migrant generally resides with relatives until secure employment is found. The next step is to move into an apartment. Eventually, the migrant buys a lot and builds a house. In Kemper's study group, 42.78 owned their own house; 48.78 rented; while 14.54 lived with relatives. Over the ten years of his study, home ownership increased from 30% to 49% (Kemper 1961, 215).

Studies by Antonio Espada (1954) in Mexico, Susan Lape(1962) in Lima, my own research in Quito, as well as that of Kathleen Lee Fine (1961) and Steven Weinreich (1970), and general studies by Barboz and Satterthwaite

[1980] attest to the universality of Bonger's findings throughout Latin America.

### The Quilombo

Quito has been an educational center from colonial times, so it is not surprising to find in modern Quito an extensive research infrastructure and an impressive cadre of scholars. Although Quito's libraries are woefully lacking in resources in comparison to those in the United States, the amount of original research and data collection by Ecuadorian scholars is impressive. Quito is home to four major universities and a number of research institutions that focus on urban conditions. FLACSO and ILOCI are social sciences research institutes with an urban component. CITTEN is an urban research arm of the French Embassy.<sup>1</sup> CIECIB, as its name suggests, is devoted to the study of cities, Quito in particular, but also other cities in Ecuador and throughout Latin America. All of these organizations maintain libraries of their own published and unpublished research, as well as related books and periodicals. Most have their own publishing departments.

The national government, through the Banco Central del Ecuador, also provides a surprisingly rich source, not only for economic studies but for social and cultural information

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<sup>1</sup>The French have had a long presence in Ecuador, dating from the French scientific mission in the nineteenth century. Most Ecuadorian professionals and scholars are well likely to be fluent in French than in English.

as well.' The bank has its own library, bookstore, and publishing house. Although the bank is primarily concerned with national interests, it offers a great deal of information about Ecuador's cities as well.

With the possible exception of the Banco Central, these organizations are generally socially liberal, committed to the documentation of social and economic inequalities and support of programs to reduce these inequalities. They have provided the leadership for many of the national and metropolitan social agencies, including Quito's Dirección de Planificación. The names of Fernando Carrizo, Federico Bustamante, Luis Schereris, and Eduardo Eugenio García, constantly cross the stages of academic research and involvement in policy making and public sector issues.

Fernando Carrizo is a classic example of these activist scholars. A graduate of Universidad Central, the most radical but least prestigious university in Ecuador, he rose to become the director de planificación for Quito. Carrizo was largely responsible for the 1962 Master Plan and the program of decentralization advocated by that plan. He is a highly regarded scholar as well as administrator and is the author of Quito: Crecimiento y política urbana (1969) published by CIEPLAN, as well as other works.

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\*The bank has a serious interest in archaeology and anthropology, especially concerning the Amazon region, as does another national institution, the Casa Cultural

Seodoro Bustamante is an anthropologist trained at the Universidad Católica. His academic career has included serving as coordinator of Interdisciplinary studies at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Flacso) and a professor in the Department of Anthropology at Universidad Católica. He has been involved in governmental policy making as consultant to the Human Rights Foundation, the Ministro de Desarrollo Social, Ecuador's social security agency, and to the provincial council of Pichincha.

Luis Schervaris is an architect trained at the Universidad Central with a specialty in historic preservation. Since 1988, he has been in charge of planning in the Centro Histórico for the Dirección de Planificación and has collaborated with the Instituto Español de Administración Local (IEAL) in preparation of the pilot plan for the historic town of Guápulo. He has inventoried the historic structures in Guápulo, Chilinguito, and Cotacotillas as part of the Master Plan for the Rehabilitation of Historic Areas in Quito, which was a joint venture between the Municipio de Quito and Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional.

Edmundo Kington Garzón is a sociologist specializing in urban problems. He holds a postgraduate degree from Flacso. He is author of a number of books on the history of cities in Ecuador in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He

was the coordinator of the master plan for the rehabilitation of historic areas in Quito.

The Quito urbanists very often balance careers between the prestige of a university or research position with the higher pay and power of an administrative post. Although no doubt influenced by North American and European planning theories, the Quito urbanists were all educated in Ecuador, most at the Universidad Central, which has a liberal agenda, and a few at the Universidad Católica, which is the more prestigious institution, but by no means conservative. None that I know of have come out of the more conservative Escuela Politécnica Nacional or the Escuela Politécnica del Ejército, which have produced the country's most prominent political, business, and military leaders.

The Quito urbanists have a number of thematic interests that are reflected in their research and publications. These gravitate around the issues of decentralization, privatization, poverty, pollution, and ecological protection. The drama of the resolution of these issues will be a part of Quito's future.

## CHAPTER 3 URBANIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

### The Latin American City in Context

The Latin American city, generally referred to as a post-industrial city, is an urban type rarely found in the industrialized world of Europe and North America. This urban typology dominates the landscape of Latin America. Ironically, most of the world's largest cities fall into the category of post-industrial, and many of these are found in Latin America. While the cities of the Western world either decline or wrestle with their industrial heritage, the cities of this emerging world face a complexity of unique problems and follow a dynamic of their own.

Not only have the cities of Latin America never experienced extensive industrialization, their historical lineage is different from their neighbors to the north. Their maternal region, the Mexican peninsula, not only never industrialized prior to colonizing the New World, but was some 700 years in a culture alone to that of Northern Europe. The Aztecs, unlike the Europeans during the Middle Ages, had absorbed and kept alive the cultural inheritance of Greece and Rome. Driven by a sense of inquiry unknown in Europe until the Renaissance, it is not surprising, then,



that not only did the Arabs, with advanced technology and their knowledge of orientological and geographic laws, enable the Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms that emerged on the peninsula to open the way to exploration of the New World, but also opened their minds a hundred years in advance of Northern Europe, to the ideas of the northern Italian renaissance. These ideas, particularly in the realm of urban design, were put to good use as the Spanish and the Portuguese, established world-wide empires (Rusby 1970).

### Indigenous Renaissance

The Latin American city represents the convergence in time and place of two urban traditions: that of pre-Columbian civilizations and that of Spain and Portugal.

Most, although not all, Latin American cities were built on the foundations of indigenous settlements. The first of the Spanish cities, Santo Domingo, was established on the site of a Taíno fishing village, and the most dramatic of all, Mexico City, was built on the site of the great Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, using as its building blocks stones from the dismantled Aztec pyramids and other structures.

In South America, Lima is noteworthy for being a totally new city without indigenous foundations, a strategic decision that proved wise in the long run and valuable from an archaeological perspective, since because of this shift

as urban centers, Cuzco, the Inca capital, has survived as a working city that continues to provide evidence of its Inca past.

The decision to locate or not to locate a city on an existing indigenous site, although sometimes determined by the conquistadores, generally fell within an overall plan for the control of the indigenous populations and extraction of resources. From the Spanish point of view, the plan was unquestionably successful. Whenever the Spanish built an indigenous foundation, whether on an insignificant native fishing village or the capital of a great empire, the result was the same--the destruction of indigenous towns and cities and the eclipse of native cultures and civilizations. Aside from the political and economic success of this plan, a curious phenomenon resulted from this juxtaposition of cultures: the Spanish were motivated to build a city greater than what had existed before. As Yves Aguila states,

Résulte et surtout, il faut faire disparaître la trace de cette rationalité d'une société qu'il s'agit de supplanter et de dominer au nom, justement, de la supériorité que confère la raison.<sup>1</sup> (Kirchhoff 1983, 41)

Even the totally new cities, such as Lima, were built as evidence of the cultural superiority of the Spanish. Albert

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<sup>1</sup>"When all is said and done, it was necessary to wipe out all traces of the previous culture to render legitimate on the superiority of the succeeding culture."

that the early workmanship of the Spanish was far inferior to that of the civilizations that they were supplanting, and not withstanding the fact that the decorative elements and art work were invariably done by indigenous craftsmen, the Spanish city became the living and working example of cultural dominance. The brilliance of the earlier native civilizations was at best temporary, and in some cases, irretrievably covered over or destroyed.

### Urban Theory and the Latin American City

V. Gordon Childe identified urbanism as a step in the development of human history. Although the linear, evolutionary view of history is no longer emphasized, or even agreed upon, Childe contributed a definitive list of characteristics that has been used by anthropologists to define civilization:

- 1- An increase in settled size
2. Centralized accumulation of capital through tribute or taxation
3. Monumental public works
4. A system of writing
5. Advances toward exact and predictive sciences
6. Long distance trade in surplus
7. A system of class stratification
8. Full time craft specialization
9. The appearance of representational art

14. The appearance of a politically organized society based upon territorial principles rather than kinship.

Applying these criteria to archaeological and historic evidence, Childe identified a trend in human development he called the "urban explosion," although in the beginning it was far from an explosion (Childe 1936, 3ff).

Louis Mumford expanded on the process of urbanization by describing the evolution of village into city, metropolis into megapolis (Mumford 1961). Although Childe's criteria of an urban society have been attacked by scholars, and the growth of archaeological evidence has modified Mumford's sequence and time frame for the development of cities, the place of urbanism in the human experience is firmly established. Indeed, the place of urban centers as a definition of civilization, one of the key criticisms of Childe, is being reaffirmed in the Andes and Meso-America as it becomes apparent that many pre-Columbian cities were densely populated urban centers, rather than purely religious centers (Galdames and Magal 1972; Morley 1960; Schloff 1960).

It, therefore, appears that although in some areas urban centers had been abandoned, others had developed, providing a continuous tradition of urbanization in the Andes as well as Meso-America long before the Spanish arrived. The Spanish inherited these cities through

conquest, destroyed their symbolic elements, and rebuilt them in their own cultural image.

### The Spanish Urban Tradition

The Spanish themselves were products of an urbanized society, a process introduced by the Romans and later modified by the Arabs. When the Spanish rebuilt the cities of the New World, they did so following the Renaissance planning principles of Leon Battista Alberti and Andrea Palladio. The result was a classic case of new bottles for old wine. The indigenous population was left to adapt itself to the new spaces and symbols and to the new order, which, as it turned out, was not so different from the previous order (Hodoy 1974).

In Europe, the urban explosion is often explained as a function of industrialization. This thesis, in itself an oversimplification, does not apply to urbanization in Latin America (Huttenworth and Chance 1981, 34). Latin American cities were not, and most are not today, industrialized cities. Their antecedents, particularly in Meso-America and the Andes, lie in their Indian past and the urban tradition of Spain, which itself was a combination of indigenous Iberian foundations, Roman colonization, Arab conquest, and Renaissance theory.

### The Colonial Prototype

The ubiquitous grid, what Spanish-speaking urbanists refer to as *el damero* (checkerboard), is not unique to the Spanish, nor even to their neighbors, the Greeks and Romans, but delineates human settlement patterns wherever a culture has mastered mathematics, for several obvious reasons: a square, rectangle, and even more complicated geometric shapes are easily laid out by surveyors using either the triangle or the circle as a base unit. The square or rectangle thus derived allows for the equal or unequal distribution of land, either in ownership or usufruct. It is for these reasons that the grid is so apparent in cities that are built for colonization, beginning with the Greek colonies, such as Syracuse, and continuing into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There are a few examples in history of the use of irregular patterns, most of them occurring in either primitive societies or at times of cultural decline, such as medieval Europe and contemporary North America, with its mindless wandering suburban streets and *cul de sacs*. The Radio México, on the other hand, is evidence of a culture pre-occupied with mathematics and the puzzle of the maze.

Although the mathematical systems of the aztecs were beyond the intellectual capabilities of the Spanish when

they reconquered the Iberian peninsula, they did rediscover the planning principles of the Greeks and Romans, and, as the new Spanish state emerged as a European power, it absorbed the rediscovery of classical ideas through the Renaissance thinkers of Italy. The remnants of the successful Spanish armies of the Reconquista that found their way to the New World, as well as subsequent Spanish administrators, brought with them a legacy of classical and Renaissance thought that included the urban theories of Vitruvius and the new interpretations by Alberti and Palladio. Alberti, a Renaissance architect and planner, had rediscovered and published the writings of Vitruvius. Alberti's own book, On the Architecture, along with Architecture by Palladio, have provided the basis for modern city planning. The crooked curving streets of medieval towns, admired even by Alberti, gave way to the order and symmetry of the geometric city, either the radial city, or, more commonly, the urban grid (Stanford 1991, 207). It is this grid that dominates not only the colonial city and its nineteenth century expansion, but also the informal, unplanned settlements that come to dominate much Latin American cities in the mid-twentieth century.

#### Guidelines for Settlement: The Law of the Indies

The ideas of Vitruvius, Alberti, and Palladio were incorporated in a document that has shaped the urban face of

The New World: The Loss of the Indies. More than 200 cities and towns were created following these guidelines through 1582, until, to a far greater degree than any other colonizing power in the New World, Spain followed a system of land settlement and town planning formalized in written codes and regulations (Bops 1981, 24).

The Loss of the Indies was a compilation of royal edicts concerning the planning of cities issued by the Spanish crown beginning with Fernando el Católico's Instructions to Alonso de Ovando in 1493 for the establishment of the city of Santo Domingo on the west bank of the Santa River on the island of Hispaniola. These instructions were general in nature, directing the fundadores to select sites that were defensible, healthy, and fertile. In dictating the form of the new city, the crown was very specific:

Quando hages la plaza del lugar, repartiendola por sus plazas, calles y alcázar a su del y regia, comenzando desde la plaza mayor, y sacando desde ella las calles a las puertas y caminos principales.<sup>1</sup> (Llewellyn Harrison 1971, 22)

In the early years of colonization, instructions came directly from the Crown in the form of letters reales, as was the case of instructions given to Diego Colón in 1494,

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<sup>1</sup>"When laying out the place, divide its plazas, streets, and squares regularly and in a straight line beginning at the major plaza and continuing from there the principal streets, roads, and city walls."



Pedro de Mella in 1533, Diego de Velázquez in 1548, Francisco de Garay in 1561, and to Hernán Cortés in 1528. As the colonial administrative structure was put into place, instructions came more indirectly from the Crown through *instrucciones o ordenanzas de Audiencias*. The original copy of these *instrucciones* was kept by the audiencia receiving them (Ruge 1944, 131). In 1580 the Viceroy of New Spain, Juan de Velasco, began to collect these directives, which came to comprise two volumes of *cédulas*. In 1588, Antonio Meléndez copied the *cédulas* in alphabetical order. This document was never published. An incomplete document, *Provisiones, cédulas e instrucciones para el Gobierno de la Nueva España* edited by Vasco de Puga, was published in 1593.<sup>2</sup> Dissatisfaction with this effort led to the indexing of all existing documents by Juan López de Velasco, Secretary of the Council of the Indies. Juan de Ovando, President of the Council, took personal responsibility for the work of codification, which was completed in 1593 and published as *Ordenanzas hechas para los Reinos de ultramarinos, recopiladas y publicadas* by Philip II. To complicate matters, a monumental collection of virtually all official written records regarding the Indies had been compiled by "los señores escribanos del Consejo, Diego Rodríguez, dadas versión a los

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<sup>2</sup> This document included only the legislation received in New Spain after 1548 (Ruge 1944, 130).

labor de recopilación personal, sin ayuda ni reconocimiento oficial"<sup>49</sup> (Lescaine Martínez 1997, 25). Although embarrassing to the officials who had compiled the ordinances of 1875, Borines had left out a major collection of directives by Carlos V. This discrepancy required a final recapitulation of documents. The result was the Rescriptación de leyes de los Reinos de Indias published in 1499. This work eliminated all discrepancies, contradictions, and duplication. "Constituye un verdadero código orgánico de toda la administración colonial en América"<sup>50</sup> (Lescaine Martínez 1997, 13).

From the standpoint of urban planning, what emerged was a set of 148 ordinances dealing with site selection, city planning and political organization. In fact they were the most complete such set of instructions ever issued to serve as a guideline for the founding and building of towns in the Americas and, in terms of their widespread application and persistence, probably the most effective planning documents in the history of mankind (Crawch 1982, 2).

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<sup>49</sup>"In obscure corner of the Council, Diego Borines, completed a personal recapitulation without assistance or official recognition."

<sup>50</sup>"[This work] constitutes a treaty organic code for colonial administration in America."

### The Modern Latin American City

Until very recently, the plans established by the laws of the Indian and the attendant grid system was sufficiently flexible to accommodate the population of most cities.

Population grew very slowly, even after independence. In the nineteenth century, only Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro had over 100,000 inhabitants and only five other cities had over 40,000 inhabitants (Harvey 1983, 24). Today, Latin America is one of the most urbanized areas in the world.

Richard Morse (1984) has divided modern Latin American urbanization into four stages and characteristics:

1. 1800-1850s: import substitution; creation of basic industries; European migration; creation of modern state
2. 1850-1900: era of peonage; development of urban population as a political machine; paternalistic treatment of cities by the state
3. 1900-1970s: period of marginalization; massive migration to cities; development of the informal sector as part of the money economy
4. 1970-present: institutionalization of the informal sector; integration of informal settlements into the urban fabric

In the mid-nineteenth century, Latin America began to be drawn into the world economy. As the silver economies of Europe and the rapidly industrializing United States scrambled for natural resources to fuel their industrial engines, Latin America began to attract their interest. The Europeans were the first to exploit the resources of Latin

America. European investment in railways, mining, and sugar plantations changed forever the economic fate of this region. The byproducts of this interest included the introduction of modern farming techniques, port improvements, the arrival of European immigrants, increased political sophistication and stability, and improvements in infrastructure, particularly sanitation (Wardley 1988, 29).

Wattamworth and Chavez (1981) point out that Latin American urbanization is unique. Traditionally, industrialization has been the stimulus for urbanization, but Latin American cities do not appear to have followed the Western pattern of industrialization. Although crafts, particularly textile manufacture, and light industries have always been present in Latin American cities, these cities seem to have skipped the stage of heavy industrialization that most Western cities experienced and which was the stimulus for their growth. Murrie and others concede that improvements in infrastructure, the appearance of basic industries, and, perhaps most importantly, the centralization of government have proven to be the stimulus for urban growth in Latin America (Wattamworth and Chavez 1981, 34; Murrie 1971, 4).

The cities of Latin America offer dramatic evidence in support of Jose Jacob's theory (1984). They have been the economic engines of their nations. By the late nineteenth

century, when growth in primary cities had far out paced national growth and had spun off modern economic growth in secondary cities, such as Bahía Blanca and Mar del Plata in Argentina, Antofagasta and Concepción in Chile, Barranquilla and Medellín in Colombia, Caracas and Cienfuegos in Cuba, Guadalajara and Monterrey in Mexico, and Maracibo and Valencia in Venezuela (Harris 1961, 7).

As dramatic as these changes were, the economic fabric and continuity had not been broken. As Hutterworth and Chazan indicate:

The roots of city life in Latin America lie not so much in the adoption of industrial technology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but rather in the Iberian conquest itself and the spread of a supra-national society based on the capitalistic mode of production. The industrial development that followed . . . simply built upon the social and economic foundation established in colonial times. (Hutterworth and Chazan 1980, 28)

The economic backbone of Latin American cities remained the urban tailor, the small shop. Economic growth was based upon the proliferation of these small shops that produced the widgets of the industrial system. The tailors are complemented by a few large scale enterprises, by the banking sector necessary to a money based economy, and by the growth of state employment. The insecurity of work for the small shops has been offset by higher wages available in large industries controlled by unions and the low wages but security of government employment (Gibson 1980, 53-54).

The small shops often provide an entry into the money economy for the urban migrant. The migrant or his children may then move into full participation in the economic system by employment that affords benefits and security.

### The Urban Migrant

By the twentieth century the economic lure of the cities had proven hard to resist by the millions and millions among the campesinos. Radio and television spread the vision of the city to the countryside. Improved roads and transportation facilitated the journey to the city (Hollnagel and Chase 1940, 45). The theory that urban migration is a function of rural poverty or reflects a social or economic breakdown, has largely been disproved (Carrizal and Seidman, 1974; Barrios, 1968; Fariss, 1976)...

As Kasper states:

... under desperate conditions few persons risk emigration, whereas when urban wealth increases and living conditions improve the number of migrants increases and the degree of positive selectivity declines. (Kasper 1974, 26)

The campesino was well aware of the work and educational opportunities in the prospering cities, as well as higher standards of living reflected by better housing, appliances, and social services, not to mention the bright lights and excitement that appealed to the younger generation, which comprises the largest age group in Latin America.

By and large, the city has met or exceeded the expectations of the urban migrant. The urban migrant earns more money, eats better, dresses better, enjoys more labor saving appliances, and is better housed than his rural counterpart. Not only that, his children are better educated and healthier and family life more equitable for women as well as children (Kemper 1974, 1980).<sup>4</sup>

The downside of urban living is that well-being is a function of the national economy, over which the individual has very little control. However, as Kemper and others have shown, the urban migrant often retains his connections to his rural roots and may even own property in the country as his people of origin (Perkins 1974, 1980). Many city dwellers travel to the countryside as weekends to buy fruit and vegetables for cash or in exchange for manufactured items available in markets in the city. Thus, the cash economy is extended to the countryside as well (Kemper 1974, 1977).

During the 1950s and 1960s, the fear of mass radicalization was one of the most widely held theories of social and political scientists. Studies in the 1970s in

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<sup>4</sup>Kemper has found in his studies that urban fathers are more affectionate and understanding toward their children than fathers in rural environments. They are not as authoritarian and are more likely to work for their children's future, particularly education. Kemper also found that males in the urban environment are more likely to share household tasks and treat women better than those in the country.

skewed every Latin American capitalist toward leftist sentiment to be weak or non-existent in recent marginal settlements (Cometina 1971, 147; Porter 1970, 240).<sup>7</sup> As Janice Perlman found in her research (1976), the survival instinct of migrants overrides any tendency to radicalize,

squatters try to minimize frictions from the political system and minimize risk of loss. . . . They are more concerned with getting ahead than with engaging in political struggles and ideological debates. (Perlman 1976, 127)

Moreover, the values of the Latin American slum dweller conform to the ideals of the more privileged. The marginalian believes that through hard work, frugality, and, most of all, education, they or their children will become full fledged members of the dominant economic group. As Alan Gilbert points out, the functionalist's view of marginality, the idea that a large segment of society remains completely outside the mainstream, has been shown to be largely erroneous (Gilbert 1982, 83). Later research has supported Gilbert, Perlman, and others:

Despite fears to the contrary, there was little evidence in the 1940s and 1950s that substantial sectors of the urban populations were unemployed or otherwise marginal to the urban economy. (Hoyes 1994, 16)

The pull of the city and the stability of migrant families in the city contributed to the long-term growth

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<sup>7</sup>See also Corbin and John Worton, *The Unfinished Conditions from Above and Below* (1978), which offers a more complete picture of politics in the slums of Latin America.



of cities in Latin America. Not only did increased migration to the city make more migration possible, but decreased infant mortality and overall better health care further contributed to exploding urban growth rates (Guttenworth and Chance 1981, 38). By the 1930s migration accounted for less than fifty percent of the growth rate of Latin American cities (Furiason 1994, 4).

### The Symptom of Urbanization in the Mid-Twentieth Century

The rapid rates of growth that occurred after 1900 placed extraordinary demands on the governments of Latin American cities.

Both the rich and the poor expected better roads, a more reliable electricity system, potable water and decent health services. Better infrastructure was also essential if industrial and commercial development was to be sustained (Gilbert 1994, 104).

Many of the governments of Latin America responded with impressive commitments of capital. Water, sewage, and drainage systems that had dated from colonial times were repaired or replaced and extended. Cities were electrified, telephone service expanded. The annual consumption of electricity in Mexico City increased from 482 megawatts in 1938 to 26,147 megawatts in 1984. In Caracas, the number of telephone subscribers increased from 12,000 in 1938 to 200,000 in 1984. In Bogotá, the electrical generation capacity increased from 53,000 kilowatt in 1938 to 300,000 kilowatt in 1984 (Gilbert 1994, 104).

The first modern utilities were generally financed and built by foreign companies. Until 1934, a Canadian company supplied the electricity and ran the trams in Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. Foreign owned or financed companies provided electricity in Bogotá, Caracas, and Lima. This was also the case in Argentina and Uruguay. However, increasingly, the nations and cities of Latin America became involved in the production and delivery of basic services. In São Paulo a municipal service was established to build drains and sewers. In the 1930s, Argentina took over the country's railways, telephone, and electricity. In 1937, Mexico established an electrical agency and began nationalizing private utility companies. In Caracas, a municipal water company was established in 1943, and the telephone company was nationalized in 1963. Although private utility companies still exist in Caracas, Lima, Bogotá, and Mexico City, most are now semi-private or government agencies (Kilburn 1994, 1997). Traditionally, the great improvement in services made possible by improved technology and increased government budgets facilitated the explosive growth of Latin American cities that exacerbated the housing problem:

#### The Housing Dilemma

Attempts at housing the growing urban population proved far more complicated than servicing new settlements with

basic utilities. Although government subsidized housing was built in large quantities in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s, these projects were often ill-conceived, poorly located, designed, and built, or too expensive for the newly arrived migrant. Properties that were well-located and well-built were snapped up by the emerging middle class (Gilbert 1994, 99; Hardy and Nathansohn 1989, 103).

Improved transportation, the advent of the automobile, and an expanded road system stimulated a shift by the wealthy and professional class from the city center to newer, greater urban residences on the North American model. Recent arrivals moved into the old city, converting dilapidated old mansions as centers. Although urban tenancy in Latin America has not generally been observed or even expanded,<sup>2</sup> this solution proved inadequate to service the large numbers arriving in the city in the latter half of this century. In some cases, private developers built urban tenements, appropriately called *caseríos* (cousins) in Lima. These were generally less adequate and sanitary than the old mansions and, even so, failed to alleviate the demand for living space. The population spilled over onto vacant urban lands, throwing up shanties to establish a foothold (Hardy and Hardy 1990, 14).

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<sup>2</sup>Studies have found that most landlords have less than ten tenants, the tenants have complaints, rents are generally low, and tenancy lasts on average less than five years (Wijkens 1992, 91).

The poorer segments of society in Latin America, both men and women, have developed a strategy and system for occupying unused land. The traditional trajectory of the urban migrant has been for the migrant to move in initially with a relative. Because of the Latin American extended system of kinship, finding a relative in the city is rarely a problem. This system provides the newly arrived migrant with a built-in network and support system. Tenancy with a relative may last several years until the migrant has enough savings or job security to rent a room or apartment.<sup>5</sup> Surprisingly, women often are able to live independently sooner than men, since living accommodations are generally provided as part of domestic service, which is by far the most likely employment for unskilled women arriving in the city. Domestic service also increases size of the kinship group, since in many cases domestic servants eventually become members of the family. However, the route to home ownership for women is usually, not yet always, through marriage. Women may also take the route to economic independence through entrepreneurship. Women dominate the world of street vendors and often become

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<sup>5</sup>Robert Kupper (1977, 1982), Josée Lobo (1982), and others have documented the experiences of the urban migrant continually to make some generic statements about their trajectory through the urban maze toward the ultimate goal of home ownership.

owners of their own permanent shops, restaurants, hair salons, and so on."

The ultimate goal of virtually every permanent urban migrant is home ownership. By the time the migrant has been in the city five to ten years, he or she may have accumulated enough capital to build a house. However, conventional financing is generally not available for the poor to purchase a house or apartment, neither of which are particularly cheap in Latin America, and building under one restrictive is still construction of an affordable dwelling. For these and other reasons, notwith the shortage of developed land, the poor have created another route to home ownership: participation in a land invasion.

Squatter rights, which was a major issue in the settlement of the western United States, is alive and well in most of South America. The Latin American concept of usufruct, the right to occupy and use land, is substantively different from that in North America. This legal concept derives from Roman civil law, and more directly from Spain, where Roman legal traditions had remained in place and the

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<sup>10</sup>The occupational roles of men and women in Latin America are still relatively structured. I have yet to see a female taxi or land driver or auto mechanic. Shops are women and chefs are men. Ask in the business of personal grooming there are "salons" which would be staffed by both men and women, as well as men's barber shops run by men and "salons de belleza," later which are done by women. On almost economic levels, however, women are represented in all the professions and hold executive positions in business, particularly in the banking and travel industries.

concept of the "state" had not been confused by feudalism. Ownership of land varied with the state and the right to use the land granted by the king, who represented the state.

The revolution in Latin America covered the time to Spain but not to Spanish legal traditions. In the chaos that followed the revolution, the traditions of land tenure were lost in struggles both petty and grandiose. The revolutions in Latin America were not so much a solution as a process which continues in varying stages from country to country to this day. As Richard Morse points out, "In Spain, as later in Ibero-America, the city became an instrument for appropriating land and for 'incorporating' and 'civilizing' people" (Morse and Kinsey 1982, 4).

For those countries that have addressed the issue of land tenure and the nation-state, the interpretation is remarkably similar. The right of private property is recognized, but the state reserves the right to dispose of property for the common good and recognizes the right of citizens to make use of unused land (Carroll, 1978, 199).

Nevertheless, the invasion of land in Latin America is illegal in several real senses: the land is occupied without formal consent of city agencies, it is developed contrary to zoning regulations, which specify land use, density, building heights, etc., and the buildings are generally constructed in non-conformance with existing

building codes designed to protect public safety (Russey and Satterthwaite 1973, 18).

Illegal settlements were not unknown in the urban history of Latin America, but in the decades after 1950 this

Table 3-1  
Percentage of total urban housing  
in selected cities in Latin  
America

		1950	1960	1970	1980
Buenos Aires	100	100	100	100	100
Bogotá	100	100	100	100	100
Brazília	100	100	100	100	100
Caracas	100	100	100	100	100
Guatemala	100	100	100	100	100
La Paz	100	100	100	100	100
Lima	100	100	100	100	100
Managua	100	100	100	100	100
Medellín	100	100	100	100	100
Mexico City	100	100	100	100	100
Montevideo	100	100	100	100	100
Quito	100	100	100	100	100
Rio de Janeiro	100	100	100	100	100
Santiago	100	100	100	100	100
Sao Paulo	100	100	100	100	100
Tegucigalpa	100	100	100	100	100
Valencia	100	100	100	100	100
Washington	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Gilbert 1984.

form of settlement came to

dominate the urban landscape

of most Latin American

cities.<sup>11</sup> The land invasion and

illegal settlement have become one of  
the most characteristic

forms of land tenure in Latin

America. In Lima there were only

five squatter settlements in 1940.

After 1950, the numbers rose

exponentially: thirty-nine by 1960,

114 in 1965, 217 in 1970, and 341 in 1974

(Gilbert 1984, 86). The squatter population in Mexico City

increased from 26 percent of the population in 1962 to 40

percent in 1970 (Table 3-1). Similar increases were

recorded throughout Latin America. For the most part, the

informal, unplanned growth of the city is seen as a problem,

even by astute European observers such as Alan Gilbert.

<sup>11</sup>The cities of the South American cone—Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Montevideo—are exceptions. They had industrialized and expanded during the nineteenth century so that they are in many ways out of phase with the rest of Latin America, although they have not been immune to recent population pressures.

Harvey and Pfefferkorn (1981) provide a unique exception. In their work, they speak strongly in support of city building by the informal sector:

Rapid growth of illegal settlements in and around cities can be viewed not as the growth of slums but, in a very real sense as the development of cities which are more appropriate to the local culture, values, and conditions than are the plans produced by the governments of those same cities. (Harvey and Pfefferkorn 1981, 8)

Several years earlier, the Latin American Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars had sponsored a conference in Washington, D.C. on "Rethinking the Latin American City." Richard Morse, in a preface to the report that resulted from that conference, says that

The future [of Latin American cities] lies not primarily with the managers but with the people themselves. Their motivations, values, and traditional or spontaneous forms of association and endeavor must be heeded. The urban design must arise from them and not from the ministries, agencies, and universities nor from the concentrated urban ideas of the bourgeoisie, industrial West. (Morse and Korten 1981, 4)

The reaction of city and national governments has varied from country to country depending upon the political climate. In Caracas, the military regime that was in power from 1948 to 1959 waged war on illegal settlements. The policy changed abruptly with the return of civilian rule in 1959. In Peru, the military has supported reform and liberal social programs. The government of General Manuel Odría initiated land invasions in the late 60s. This continued with the liberal civilian governments of the



1984; however, in the cities, new invasions were prohibited and an attempt was made at planned settlement.

Policies since have ranged from accommodation to attempts

Table 3-2  
Percentage of Area Occupied  
by Selected Latin  
American  
Cities



Source: United Nations

at planned growth (Gibson 1988,

43). In São Paulo, self-help

housing and illegal settlements

have been tolerated, but São de

José did its best to eradicate the

informal sector in the 1970s and 80s

(Gibson 1984, 85).

Most of the cities of Latin America

have gone to some with this process of

land settlement. Many have gone so far as to accommodate

and facilitate the process by extending services and

infrastructure to illegal settlements, despite the

opposition of professional planners educated in the North

American and European models. While their official planners

decried settlement on unimproved land or land designated for

other uses, city authorities have not enforced planning

ordinances and have generally turned a blind eye to illegal

settlements unless they encroached on some pet project of

the political party in power. Although the planners of land

invasions have had to be polite in their selection of land

to be invaded, much public and some private, particularly

church land and land owned by abusive landlords, has been

up for grabs.<sup>42</sup> In short, cities were not long in realizing that informal settlement and self-help housing was an effective means to accommodate the masses of urban migrants at little cost to the municipality (Gilbert 1981, 1982).

In many ways, self-help housing serves the interests of all classes and segments of society. The state is relieved of direct housing expenses, except for providing infrastructure, and, in addition, the political party in power gains status and a potential constituency by serving as mediator between settlers and utility companies. The middle class concept of private property is legitimized by the desire of squatters for legal title to their property, and the capitalistic sector by the economic activity of construction, which requires the purchase of building materials and the increased circulation of capital. In addition, cheap housing relieves the pressure for higher wages and has little effect on land values elsewhere in the city. Percentages of home ownership are high throughout Latin America (Table 3-3), and properties are consistently being expanded and improved. The bureaucratic planners are possibly the only losers, since their control of the urban

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<sup>42</sup>Guatemala often has planned for public holidays so that the government can't react immediately. They fly the national flag and some demonstrators after an historic political figure of someone from whom they seek prisoners (Kings 1988, 421).

growth process is needed in the face of unplanned land invasions (Gilbert 1980, 87-88).

Urbanists have had mixed feelings about informal land settlement. Many believe that it is just another opportunity for exploitation of the mass by the few. Although there is certainly an element of opportunism by those in power, anthropologists and sociologists have found those living in informal settlements to have far different concerns. Basic desires have very tangible goals: a safe water supply, sewage, street lighting, street paving, public transportation, schools, day care centers, and medical clinics (Gilbert 1980, 1979; Lloyd 1980, 8 and 92). Their neighborhood organizations are almost exclusively dedicated to pursuing these goals by participation in local politics and developing pressure on the city and national levels (Gilbert 1974, 92).

### The Process of Informal Settlement

The process of informal settlement follows a fairly consistent pattern throughout Latin America. Peter Lloyd has documented the evolution of a squatter settlement in his study of Medellín, Colombia in 1980 (Lloyd 1980, 8; see also Wang 1978, 50-52).

1. Deviation
2. Distribution of land
3. Construction of rudimentary shelters
4. Demand for water and electricity

3. Improvements in buildings
4. Demand for sewage
5. Road streets
6. Street lighting
7. Construction of schools and clinics
8. Demand for formal recreation

This process with only minor variations can be found in accounts by anthropologists and others wherever urban growth is occurring in Latin America.

The invasion itself is usually well planned, sometimes with the assistance of university students from schools of architecture and planning. The land is subdivided, streets are laid out, public spaces designated (Gibson 1968, 60). Initial structures are rudimentary, sometimes only fiber walls for the purpose of establishing tenure. Once the establishment is secure, substantial structures of masonry and concrete emerge. Buildings receive a coat of plaster. Second and third stories are added. At first electricity is piped and water delivered in tank trucks, but in time electricity and sewer are installed, roads paved, bus services begin operating, and schools built (Gibson 1968, 60-66). In ten to twenty years, these untutored planners of the moment will have managed to convert their original

shanty town into a viable urban neighborhood (Moros and Sandoz 1983, 18 and others).<sup>12</sup>

The instrument of change in these settlements from conception to maturity is the *barrio* organization. It is generally responsible for the allocation of land, collecting charges for electricity and water, maintaining public spaces, security, and enforcing building regulations (Mayo 1948, 81-93). In many ways the *barrio* organization functions like a modern condominium association. In the beginning, the organization consists almost exclusively of the organizers of the invasion. In time, however, the organization evolves into a democratic form. Other organizations, such as sports clubs and women's groups, emerge to serve the growing needs and interests of the community. Neighborhood organizations may emerge that take over some of the functions of the original organizations or focus specialized areas of interest, such as women's issues, sports, health, public parks, and recreation. The continuity of the *barrio* organization depends on its ability to serve its constituents. The *barrio* organization

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<sup>12</sup> Peter Mayo's case study of *Medalla Milagrosa* in Lima (1948) documents the process of illegal settlement, as do other studies throughout Latin America. See also Schwabert et al. (1983), *Urban Growth* (1980), Gallo and Gueybaud, *Managua* (1991), Mexico City Case (1982), Lima, *Peru* (1991), San de Juan del Rio, *Spain* (1990), *Spain*.

generally serves as the bridge between the community and the municipality. Its function becomes one of lobbying to attain special status and favors in the struggle to obtain basic and social services.<sup>14</sup>

The distribution of these services, which in times of economic hardship are a limited resource, is influenced by a combination of wealth and influence. Wealthy neighborhoods are well-served, as are the older, established sections of cities. The situation is somewhat exacerbated by the demographics of neighborhoods in Latin American cities. Although there are exclusive neighborhoods in Latin American cities, the rich and poor tend to an even larger extent, the middle class and poor, live in closer proximity and closer than in North American cities. The migrant who becomes middle class or even wealthy rarely moves from his neighborhood.<sup>15</sup> This identification with place not only contributes to substantial internal improvements in the neighborhood--larger buildings, community improvements,

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<sup>14</sup>Studies of the political organization of America are too numerous to list. A general discussion with references to specific studies can be found in Park (1989), Jorgin (1988), and de la Haza (1987). For Spain, I have relied on Pine (1981), Garcia (1981), and Villanar (1982).

<sup>15</sup>This phenomenon is reported by Silberstein and Chazan (1981), Kasper (1987), Knight (1988), Lobo (1988), and Perlmutter (1988). I have personally noted the construction of large rather luxurious houses in selected neighborhoods in Cuba, and when I inquired about who owned them, the response was generally on the lines of, "Oh, that belongs to Don Fulgencio. He has lived here all his life and now owns a bus company."

etc.--but also to increased influence in the larger political and economic arena of the city.

### The Formal Response

This process of urbanization is not itself "the problem." Indeed, in many instances, it has arisen from the development of stronger and more diversified economies. In many nations, it also reflects their increasing incorporation into a global economy. The main causes of the problems that accompany it are inadequate and inappropriate responses, both from governments and from ad hoc agencies. (Hawley and Silverthorne 1989, 7)

Having failed in their attempts to provide housing to the public and private sector for the highest masses, governments turned to a policy of accommodation that included as a cornerstone of that policy the extension of basic and social services to otherwise illegal settlements. This process was not always an easy task, particularly in the 1970s when the economies of Latin America went into a tailspin. The process was further complicated by the proximity of Latin America to create impenetrable bureaucracies, a legacy that may well lay at the feet of their Spanish colonial heritage. Somehow the maze of regulations and reams of paperwork disappear during election years, so that the integration of new neighborhoods into the urban fabric proceeds as fire and starts depending upon the sequencing of elections (Silbert 1994, XII).

The interdependence of politics and public utilities in Latin America is evident. Since public utilities have been

a favorite foreign investment, the inefficiency and corruption that has resulted has been a prime target for the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. These agencies have required technical and management improvements, the elimination of employment favoritism, and the independence of managing boards from political influence. Demands from both the general public and emerging industries for increased service contributed to the ultimate success of these reforms throughout much of Latin America. By the 1970s, modern utility companies had emerged in both the public and private sectors (Hilbert 1984, 149-151).

However, as circumstances retorted and a new corporate structure emerged, the companies became increasingly insensitive to their customers. In a misguided quest for fiscal responsibility to impress their foreign lenders, they increased rates and expanded into high revenue areas while ignoring poorer sectors of the city. The result was widespread social unrest and riots throughout Latin America in the 1970s. Governments were forced to intervene with tighter controls and subsidies to lower rates. Although utility companies are much better managed today than in previous decades, the current pressure for utility shorthages and the need to expand or privatization, again prompted by the World Bank and other foreign lenders. Despite outside pressures, the majority of utility companies in Latin



America remain in the public sector and many are well managed (Halbert 1994, 122).

Management is stereotypical of Latin America. Much of the criticism comes from Latin Americans themselves, who seem to be their own worst critics, but the fact remains that Latin American city governments and their utility companies, both public and private, have absorbed and provided services to an unprecedented increase in population during much of the latter half of this century. The ability to accommodate an additional five million people in a decade, as Mexico city did, is an accomplishment that deserves the highest respect. The inequalities in the distribution of services is not unique to Latin America and has deepened over the years, largely because of government controls and intervention in the evolution of utility growth.

### James and Marginality

The concept of marginality in the developing world is one of the most controversial issues among urban thinkers in and out of Latin America. The concept probably originated with Robert E. Park in an article published in the American Journal of Sociology in 1929 entitled "Urban Migration and the Marginal Man" (Parsons 1976, 442). The word marginal in Spanish has strong derogatory overtones when applied to a person, suggesting someone who is hap, shiftless, over-do-

will. Those who see this condition as an urban blight describe this urban population as lacking regular, well paid work; suffering from inadequate diet; receiving poor health care and education; and alienated relative to a capital-based economy and the demands for a technical work force (Gilbert and Ward 1980, 83; Perelman 1989), de Souza (1989), and others have done much to discredit the myth of marginality. The revisionists see the marginal sector as an alternative, rather than subordinate or pathologized, realm of urban economic

People in both the formal and informal realm make strategies and voluntary associations, and both realms are linked by a range of social and economic activities. (Morre and Hardoy 1982, 17)

To complicate matters, the subjects of these observations move freely between the formal and informal sectors of the economy, so that often the line between the two is blurred. Morre and Hardoy (1982) try to pin this constantly shifting group down by defining the informal sector as "relationships that fail to demonstrate a clear separation or contractual relationship between capital and labor," in opposition to a labor force whose work and pay are legally regulated. It is safe to say that perhaps 80 percent of the work force of many Latin American cities fall into this category. It is also to be noted that the average income of this sector is comparable to the average income in the formal sector (Morre and Hardoy 1982, 18). Rivas de Saiz (1981) expresses the

liberal-managerial contention that the informal sector should be brought into the formal sector where it can be taxed and regulated. Lázaro Lombrío and Rodrigo Díaz provide a compelling argument that "informal relationships and activities are not marginal, private, or incompatible with the whole social system" (1992, 199). These arguments may have had some effect, at least on the current generation of urban policy makers. The term marginal is rarely heard these days, being replaced by the less offensive terms *informal* or *popular*.

The acceptance by the state of the informal sector is itself contentious. Marxists see it as a means of keeping wages low and social benefits minimal. Self-help housing is seen as a cheap solution to the housing crisis. The government's facilitation of this process by encouraging neighborhood associations and establishing government offices to communicate and negotiate with these organizations is seen as the state's self-interest in protecting capital by guaranteeing stability (Gilbert 1992, 541). At the same time, city governments that have been committed to the managerial approach to urban problems, that is, decisions should be in the hands of managers who will make rational decisions, have lost control of the urban growth process. Neighborhood associations support local programs and happily accept city funds, but reject programs

that are managed by city agencies (Gilbert 1994, 132). On a larger scale, the result has been that cities have grown in direction and at a pace unplanned and unexpected. This growth has produced problems both real and perceived.

Attitudes toward urban growth can be classified as negative, positive, and cynical, which Perissin (1994, 8-10) defines as follows:

1. Negative: Rural poverty is transferred to cities, which leads to squatter, despair, disorder, and violence.
2. Positive: Urbanization is essential to economic growth and facilitates modernization. Urban life offers more amenities than rural life.
3. Cynical: Urbanization is inevitable in growing economies. Urban poverty is undesirable, but necessary to keep wages low and allow for economic growth.

Joe Collier summarizes these attitudes succinctly:

The message that the uneasy alliance between urbanization and capitalism conveys is separation of the intimate relationship between labor and community has remained an enduring legacy. (Collier 1990, 132)

Spence Rostoff suggests that attempts to limit urban growth are futile and can occur only in a totalitarian environment. Cities will grow to their "natural" limits.

The overwhelming evidence is that the Latin American city needs or exceeds the expectations of both recent arrivals and the established urban population. Most signposts are successful in establishing and maintaining a secure economic niche by an active combination of tenured

work and entrepreneurial ventures. Although the percentage of the population categorized as poor may remain stable and at times even increase, the population of that percentage do not remain the same; that is, in Latin America, there is an upward economic dynamic. The newly arrived may enter into the percentage of poor, while those more established move out of it.

The dilemma faced by urban policy makers focuses on incorporating the informal sector into the formal economy. Whether this is desirable or not is debatable. There is the possibility that a centrally controlled economy will stifle the economic creativity and flexibility that characterizes the informal economy and contributes so much to the economic vitality of the Latin American city. Attempts at controlling the informal sector have been manifested as schemes for rationalizing city markets. Although cities have been slow to rationalize markets, they have never been able to suppress street vendors and have found that informal markets spring up wherever there is a demand, often in areas of the old markets. Encroachments into the informal sector have been successfully parried by well-organized informal organizations representing the various classes of vendors and transporters.

Governments have been more successful integrating the new neighborhoods built by the informal sector. These

neighborhoods are not generally endogenous, either in terms of ethnicity or socioeconomic status. Urban neighborhoods are not villages and are they settlements of the suburban poor. Their inhabitants work in the city at large and are politically aware and often involved in the political life of the city. The problem, as some architects and planners see it, is that most of the new neighborhoods have been established spontaneously, without prior long term planning, and buildings built without benefit or compliance with building codes established to ensure the health and safety of their occupants. It is somewhat reassuring to note that in recent earthquakes in Mexico and Ecuador, these houses fared far better than public buildings built with the assistance of architects and engineers. Nevertheless, these settlements have often appeared in areas of marginal safety and without ecological impact that may result in future crises or catastrophes.

To summarize the housing situation in Latin American cities, self-help housing has generally worked. House designs are often better adapted to family requirements than low-income housing designed by professionals, and are by far more affordable. These vernacular designs are innately suited to the immediate needs of their occupants and designed to be expanded as their economic situation improves or family size changes. Home ownership in Latin America is

unique in the developing world, where most urban migrants are refugees. This phenomenon is largely national, but also the result of acceptance by governments of land conversions and self-help housing, and the willingness of Latin American governments to provide services and infrastructure.

CHAPTER 4  
CIVILIZATION: THE CASE OF QUITO, ECUADOR

Quito's Foundations

Quito is a classic example of the total obliteration of virtually all evidence of a former civilization. Only one small piece of evidence of the Inca city remains -- the foundations of a watch tower on Picachimbo, a small mountain visible from the center of the valley of Quito, and the site today of a representation of the conqueror's religion--a statue of the Virgin Mary.

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, Quito sat on the bank of emerging from the obscurity of a pre-Inca agricultural village. In the fifteenth century, the Incas defeated a coalition of primitive tribes that had unified the area. One of these tribes was the Quita, from which the name of the city was derived. The Inca city was built by Tupac Pumasqui and his son Huayna Capac. What we know about the Inca city is based largely upon descriptions by the Spanish conquerors. Apparently, the Inca city was an agricultural center and a royal retreat for the Inca royalty, rather than a religious center. The Spanish were more impressed with the surrounding mountains and high plains than the city itself. After the Inca King,



Akshosipa, was murdered by the Spanish, the city was burnt to the ground, allegedly by the Spaniards, one of his guerrillas (Barbey 1984, 184)

When Sebastián de Bualdivar led an expedition to the site in 1536, he found a destroyed and abandoned city. As directed by Francisco Pizarro, he set about to build a Spanish city on the site to be called San Francisco de Quito. It was to be both an agricultural and religious center. The first foundations were laid, and the city was laid out as close to the typical checkerboard pattern favored by the Spanish as the existing topography allowed (Barbey 1984). The streets were oriented to the cardinal points of the compass and are almost perpendicular to the mountains forming the valley, the *Faldas del Fimbichu* and *El Pavullo*, respectively (Kroege 1977, 241). The earliest surviving plan of the city is dated 1579. Although this map is not much more than a sketch, it does indicate the few major buildings of the time, parks and squares, topographical features, property lines, and roads leading to neighboring towns. This early map clearly indicates the quadrangle (ruins) that were a distinguishing feature of the city until this century.

The majority of buildings that form the fabric of colonial Quito today were built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a few major exceptions (Fig. 4-1). These exceptions include the church of San Francisco and its surrounding buildings (1573-1601), the convent of San Agustín (1581), and the cathedral of Quito (1572). A partial inventory of religious buildings surviving from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries includes the convents of Santa Dominga and La Merced, the annex to the cathedral, El Sagrario; the church and school of La Compañía de Jesús; the church of Salazar, the monasteries of La Concepción, Santa Clara, Carmen Soja, and Santa Catalina, and the



Figure 4-1. Quito in the sixteenth century (Ortiz de Montemayor 1991)

vicinity of San Diego de Quito and El Yajer. Most of the public buildings were rebuilt or expanded as the city prospered in the nineteenth century. These include the Palacio de Gobierno, the Palacio Municipal, the Palacio Arzobispal, the Banco Guano, and the Observatorio Astronómico (Whirlberg 1977, 41-44; Williamson 1987, 48-49).

The creation of Quito as a religious center had two important byproducts. One was the continuation of the Indian artistic tradition that provides the basis, which established Quito's reputation as a center for the arts, and the second was the development of Quito as an educational center. The school of San Andrés was founded in 1564, and two universities, San Francisco and San Gregorio were founded as early as 1622 (Crosby 1973, 24; Williamson 1987, 47). Religion, the arts, and the universities were supported by the region's rich agricultural lands that provided the wealth to support the artistic building activity that characterized the first three hundred years of Quito's existence.

### Geography and Climate

Quito is located twenty-four kilometers south of the Equator and is the second highest capital in South America. The city lies in a high mountain valley whose floor elevation averages 2,835 meters (Fig. 4-2). It is surrounded by high mountains that include two active volcanoes,

Pichincha and Pelicula. Scientists consider the city at high risk from lava flows and ash storms should one of these volcanoes erupt.

The valley is accessible through narrow passes at its southern end and a broad plain at its northern extreme, on which is located the airport, now completely surrounded by the city. A number of active, snow-capped volcanoes are visible from the city on a clear day, including Cotopaxi, the world's highest active volcano at 5,997 meters.

Quacous gabardes (ravines) cut a rugged path through the valley during colonial times; these were used as trash dumps; consequently, most have been filled and built over. Storm drainage is provided by an underground system, work of which dates from the last century. The new Metropolitan Recreop River cuts through the oldest part of the city.

The city has been subject to a variety of natural disasters including volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and, most recently, mud slides (table 4-1). This latter phenomenon is a serious disaster directly related to the city's expansion up the sides of the valley. The maintenance of a heavily forested ecological zone above the city is critical not only for the prevention

Table 4-1  
Seismicity January  
Eruptions

1912	Barbapalo
1918	Barbapalo
1938	Barbapalo
1944	Barbapalo
1975	to 1980 eruptions
1988	Barbapalo eruptions
1997	Barbapalo
1999	Barbapalo

Source: Data 1999

of mudslides, but also for the protection of its surface water system, which is used both for electrical generation and consumption. Areas designated ecological degraded from 24,328 hectares in 1973 to 11,540 hectares in 1981, however, the 1981 Plan Directorio Metropolitano has designated 11,477 hectares immediately adjacent to Quito as ecological zones. This area includes seven reserves and two forest reserves that are being replanted (PDM-11, 1981).

The municipal government has for some time had the ability to limit private developers from encroaching on this area, but so far has not constructed illegal settlement and other minor encroachments on lands designated ecological.

Because of its proximity to the Equator, the length of the day in Quito is virtually constant. Its high elevation determines its climate, which is highly changeable, but generally warm in the daytime and cool at night, with a mean temperature of 13 degrees centigrade. Temperatures have varied from a low of 8 degrees centigrade to a high of 21 degrees centigrade, often in one day. Although there is not much seasonal variation in temperature, there is a rainy season that occurs from October to May, with rain falling generally in the afternoon. The prevailing wind is from the north. High winds are rare. The adjacent valleys, which

are now a part of the metropolitan district, are worse with more predictable weather patterns.'

#### Development of the Modern City

City form, left alone, will work itself out subject only to the respect of zoning, ownership, and social behaviour. (Hoskoff 1951, 78)

From the colonial period to the first decade of the twentieth century, a period of three hundred years, Quito had grown from an estimated population of 42,000 in 1592



Figure 1-2 Quito in 1592 (June 1960)

Geographical and climatological information has come from the Atlas del Municipio Metropolitano 1959-61 (1961) and the chapter on Quito in two national atlases: the South American edition and Elsevier's South America (1961).

(Hinchon 1994, 199)<sup>2</sup> to a population of only 31,888 in 1994. This population was largely contained within the boundaries of the original city. The inhabited area of the city had expanded slowly during this period, increasing from about 43.1 hectares in 1837 to 77.3 hectares in 1907 and to 218 hectares in 1918 (Lara 1992, 30%). However, by 1931, the city had almost tripled its area to 678 hectares, which represented growth to the north beyond the Ejido and to the south beyond Quiro's signature hill, the Famencillo (Fig. 4-2). From 1908 to 1931, the population had increased by more than 60% to 80,702 (POB-2 1982).<sup>3</sup>

A number of factors contributed to the unprecedented growth that occurred from the beginning of the twentieth century into the 1930s. Panama was at least in part a beneficiary of the improvement in the world economy after World War I. Demand for its agricultural products, particularly bananas from the coast, but also grains and cereals from the Andean valleys, increased markedly. Contact with the industrialized world, coupled with economic

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<sup>2</sup>From Table 4.1, The Population of the City of Quito, 1870-1910. Hinchon's source is the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. By far the largest group in this population were urban Indians, numbering about 18,000.

<sup>3</sup>With population and extent of the urban area are difficult to ascertain before reliable censuses and accurate mapping. The most reliable more systematic statistics date from the French geographer's mission of 1748 (POB-1 1982, 41).

growth led to a national policy of modernization, which began to change the urban fabric of Ecuador's cities."

Quito moved rapidly to install a modern infrastructure. In 1965, the national government built a modest (200 kW) hydroelectric plant at Guápulo that enabled the city to install electric street lights in 1968. Copied from the United States was instrumental in creating a city light and power company, la Eléctrica de Quito, in 1968. That company built a second, much larger (1,700 kW), hydroelectric plant in 1972 in the adjacent valley of Los Chillos.

In 1968, the city had put into place a piped potable water system drawing its waters from reservoirs on the surrounding mountains. In 1973, the city, with the assistance of European technicians, built two state-of-the-art purification plants and introduced chlorination. In 1980, telephones were introduced and the Compañía Nacional de Teléfonos created. By the 1980s, the company had installed 7800 km of telephone lines and constructed 187 telegraph offices, 114 telephone offices, and nineteen radio-telegraph stations.

The first automobile arrived in 1906, an electric trolley system was in place by 1914, and the first airplane landed in Quito in 1909. The city embarked on an ambitious

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Used a detailed analysis of the causes of Quito's growth in this period see Baker (1987).



program of street paving in the 1880s, liberally applying asphalt over its old paving stones, and, in 1914, completed the international airport that still serves the city.

Besides its paving streets, the city lost another of its major features in the modernization process. The natural quebradas (ravines) which had functioned as both storm water and sewage conduits since pre-colonial times and which had been a notable geographic feature of Quito were replaced by a piped sewer system completed in 1903. The quebradas then became trash dumps and most were gradually filled. Public and private trash pickup had been in place since the nineteenth century, but increased in efficiency and was centralized in 1880 by the creation of the *Hierroside de Higiene Municipal* (1904-5 1981, 1982).<sup>2</sup>

These improvements increased the desirability of the city as a place to live, but the completion of the railroad between Guayaquil and the port of Guayaquil in 1868 was by far the greatest impetus to growth. This heroic task, begun by President Gabriel García Moreno, was completed by the enigmatic but visionary dictator, General Eloy Alfaro. Both

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<sup>2</sup>COPEHO has produced a chronology complete with bibliography of the history of the development of Quito's infrastructure from colonial times to the present. See Villacorta et al. (1983). Jorge Alexander Lara also has a good accounting of the historic development of infrastructure in Quito (Lara 1982).

quito and Guayaquil experienced a flash of economic growth followed by a dramatic increase in population.<sup>4</sup>

An attendant effect of the modernization of the infrastructure was the stirring of industrialization. Small shops began to spring up, producing the gadgets and widgets required by a modern economy. The railroad was directly responsible for one of Quito's first education communities, *Ferrovianita*, which was then comprised of railroad workers' homes and machine and repair shops supporting the railroad. Quito's ancient textile industry that had weaved not much changed from Inca times began to mechanize and join the twentieth century (1900-1 1981, 80).

The prosperity of Quito attracted migrants from the countryside, who, coupled with increased health and longevity of urban residents due to sanitary improvements, swelled the population of Quito to over 100,000 in 1934. These migrants occupied the space in the historic center that was slowly being abandoned by its traditional residents in favor of the new districts of Alameda and Mariscal. The selection of the Centro Histórico by both transients and newly arrived migrants has continued to the present time (Jarama 1993, 38).

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<sup>4</sup>The importance of the railroad is a theme beyond the scope of this work, but has been presented and debated by a number of pioneering scholars: Juan José Salas (1977), Juan José y Wills (1988), and Aguilera Pineda (1988).

As Ecuador entered the international market as a supplier of agricultural products, the foreign presence in Quito, the capital of the country, increased. Europeans settled in an area to the northwest of the city's common pastures, the Ejido. This new district, the Alameda, became the European center, and is still attended Ecuadorians of wealth who wished to hold-alls with often admired foreigners. A number of "missionary" clubs sprang up. Banks constructed ornate structures to impress as well as serve the needs of the foreign community. The various nations represented constructed ornate residences in the Chulucane style still favored by European officialdom. The city built a theater and a library. A prominent citizen, Don Enrique Paez, created an impressively landscaped park so that he could rub elbows with other gentlemen of his generation.

A slightly less prestigious development occurred to the northwest of the Ejido. This area was known as Ciudadela Larrea. It was described by a writer in 1918 as containing numerous quietas (country style houses), chalets, and villas of modern construction. By the 1930s, the Ejido had been bisected and a suburb reminiscent of the Roman ballfields was created, the Mariscal. Another writer of the time described the Mariscal as a neighborhood of mansions

separated by large gardens very atypical of Spanish settlement patterns (FHM-I 1881, 27-28).<sup>2</sup>

During this process, the rural migrant was on the move in the city. The Historic Center was not expanding fast enough to accommodate new arrivals. And, just as today, it was not the migrant's idea of permanent place. The Historic Center was evolving into a [Spanish] neighborhood. The poor as well as the working class moved to the north, creating the barrier of Aguascalientes and La Columna, and settling in what had in colonial times been a village, La Magdalena (FHM-I 1884, 27-28).

The period of the 1880s and 1890s was one of consolidation. The area of the city increased by less than 180 hectares, while the population increased from 84,702 to 181,648 (FHM-I 1894, 41). The celebration of the centenary of independence in 1892 stimulated a rash of urban renewal projects, mostly directed towards accommodating the automobile. The Ejido was converted to a park and retained the Parque Centenario, but continued to be known as the *Ejido*.

The prosperity that accompanied the 1890s saw a proliferation of construction in both the private and public sectors. Schools such as the Escuela Beneficente and the

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<sup>2</sup> Descriptions taken from the poeta original market and publications.

instituto de Vozes were built. The government built the Palacio de Comunicaciones, the Catedral Central, and the Sociedad de Fomento. The military built an architecturally impressive building, the Cuartel Militar. But the banks, just as today in Quito, were responsible for the most impressive buildings, notably the Crédito Agrícola e Industrial, the Banco de Fomento, and the Banco de Fomento CHM-1 1941, 41-42. At least physically, the city was well into emerging as a modern metropolis graced by beautiful buildings, parks, and monuments as well as by charming colonial streets and structures. But all was not well. There now had emerged an urban dichotomy, Quito antiguo and Quito moderna, the old city and the new city. Their paths would continue to diverge, one at the cost of the other, and new actors were appearing on the urban stage whose conflicting interests would be expressed not only in social and cultural terms, but also in spatial transformations.<sup>2</sup>

No centralized formal planning had occurred in Quito up to this point. Nevertheless, the city had grown in a rational way, both in terms of expansion and land use. The working class had settled to the south along existing roads following geographic features lending themselves to

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<sup>2</sup>These ideas reflect the thinking of the authors of *Ecology, Urban Form* (1961) and are largely based on the theories of Eberhard Weis (1960, 1967).

construction on relatively level terrain and affording access to water and transportation. The middle and professional classes had settled to the north, consolidated by a municipal road-building program, but also drawn by desirable land that formerly had been in agricultural use.

Churches and plazas continued to function as the focal points of the city. A number of these urban features formed the centers for the principal activities of the city and drew transportation to them: San Francisco, Santa Catalina, la Plaza de la Independencia, Plaza del Teatro, and San Blas.

San Francisco was a district of stores specializing in the sale of flour and grains. There were also jewelry stores and shops renting and selling carriages and, later, automobiles. A number of garages continued to exist in this area. San Francisco was connected by a new road to La Magdalena farther to the south.

The church of Santa Catalina to the south marked the principal historic entry to the city and as such generated the growth of a number of neighborhoods attracted by the convenience of the major road and transportation to and from the city. In itself, the neighborhoods around Santa Catalina were a transient area through which passed the primary trade of the city.

The Plaza Grande, also known as the Plaza de la Independencia, was the civil and religious center of the city. In 1499, virtual teachers, mostly Indians, were housed from this important plaza (Lora 1983, 244). They moved their activities to San Blas, which then became the market center of Quito. The cathedral, Palacio Municipal, and Palacio del Gobierno face this square. Shops specializing in imports and luxury goods extended along the streets intersecting the Plaza Grande.

La Plaza del Fiestero y San Blas was on the road to Guayaquil and was known for its fruit and milk markets. A modern market building built of steel was completed in 1984, but the area continued to retain its colorful store (Lora 1983, 245). It was the major Indian market of the city and home to stalls, shops, and vendors selling the products and crafts of the countryside. San Blas was contiguous with the Plaza del Fiestero, which was the social center for the upper classes.

Bars and casinos were sprinkled liberally throughout the city, with a more European flavor in the Alameda and Mariscal. The early nineteenth century supported a flourishing night life in Quito, just as it did in most of the cities of the Western world during this period.

Residential uses were thoroughly integrated with commercial uses, even around the Plaza Grande, which was

still the domain of the wealthy. This area was characterized by elegant low- and three-story mansions, luxury hotels, casinos, and stores selling luxury goods.

However, the city was beginning to industrialize. Small factories were springing up in working-class areas and forming districts of their own. Contemporary accounts make a distinction between shops that sold goods and shops that fabricated goods, although, in some cases, such as the manufacture of soap, vellin, and cordons, both functions were collocated. Smaller and more numerous industries grouped themselves together along roads servicing the main roads which nature were to be found in San Juan, La Chibola, El Peral, El Panecillo, and La Utopia beer distilleries to the south along the streets of Ramafuerte, Adula, and Aranda 28 de Mayo. And on the periphery could be found tobacco factories, suitcase factories, and bottling plants (FOM-2 1991, 38-40).

To this point, the eve of the 1970s, the city had expanded gradually and reorganized itself from a pre-industrial city into a reasonably modern one without benefit of centralized planning or much guidance at all from the developing municipal bureaucracy. Cultural patterns remained intact. The social and economic life of the city remained integrated, and, just as in colonial times, business



and unhealthy industrial enterprises were expanded from areas of habitation and intense human activity.

### Quito, Capital of Ecuador

In the national context, although Quito is the capital of Ecuador, it is the second largest city in that nation, surpassed only by the port city of Guayaquil. Quito and Guayaquil, each with over a million inhabitants, "dominate the urban hierarchy of the country" (Wilkie 1984, 243). The ten next largest cities, most of them regional centers, account for only 11.76 of the nation's population, whereas, in 1982, 28.26 of the population lived in Quito and Guayaquil. In Wilkie's terminology, Ecuador is classified

as a "dispersed-metropolitan settlement landscape," with somewhere between two-thirds and three-fourths of all Ecuadorians living in small clusters of population or in one of the two metropolitan centers (Wilkie, 4-5).



Figure 4-3. Map of Ecuador (data) (Wilkie 1984)

However, secondary cities, such as Machala, Cuenca, and particularly Santa Domingo have begun to show extraordinary growth, which is reflected by the 1994 census.

Only five official censuses have been taken since Ecuador attained independence. All five have been taken within the last forty-seven years. The first census, taken in 1460, indicated that the population of Quito was 1,500,707. By the next census (1561), the numbers had increased to 4,494,886, and by 1974 the total had jumped to 4,325,765. According to these numbers, the population had doubled in just over twenty years. The annual rate of growth for the nation had increased from 28 in the late 1950s to 3.48, showing only a slight decline in the last two censuses (Quito and Quito 1999). The population stood at 4,872,722 in 1990 and 5,622,488 in 1994 (Lace 1993, 2001).

The French Geographic Mission of 1760 prepared the first accurate cartographic survey of the city of Quito, however, the Dirección de Planificación has prepared a graphical presentation of Quito's growth based on historical maps as well as more recent aerial photographs (Appendix C). In 1989, S.D. Pizarro expanded the map of Quito and, in 1994 the Instituto Geográfico Militar (IGM) prepared the first map based on aerial photography. Subsequently, in 1994 and 1995, the IGM issued new maps and, in 1996, the first satellite-based map (IGN-1) 1991, 99).

This progression of professional mapping has enabled planners to accurately calculate the area of the city (Table 4-2) and analyze the modern city as it has taken shape (Appendix D). Until 1950, the city

TABLE 4-2  
Growth in Area of Quito

Year	Growth (km.)	Total (km.)
1740	855.40	855.40
1790	91.40	946.80
1820	117.78	1064.57
1840	242.46	1,307.03
1850	1,040.00	2,347.03
1870	1,878.00	4,225.03
1890	6,310.31	10,535.34
1900	3,461.18	14,000.52

1 km. = 3281 meters

Source: FOM-8 1902

retained a central core of commercial, religious, and governmental activities, but, during the decades of the fifties and sixties, the city began to take on a longitudinal shape following the geography of the valley and the north-south orientation of the Pan American Highway through the city as well as new roads paralleling this axis. New centers of primarily commercial activities sprung up in the north and south. The city could now be classified as polycentric. The expansion that has occurred in this day continued the north-south dispersal pattern that was further complicated by expansion up the sides of the adjacent mountain ranges into areas designated city parks or ecological zones. As the valley began to fill up, Quito's growing population spilled over into the adjacent valleys of Pomasqui, Calderón, Tumbaco, and Los Chillos. Planners

today classify Quito as "dispersed and irregular" (FOM-11 1981, 48).

Quito occupies a special place in the national hierarchy as capital of Ecuador. Historically, it has also been one of three departmental capitals, the other two being Guayaquil and Cuenca. In 1845, this organization was abandoned in favor of a system of provinces that expanded over the years to number twenty-one today (Appendix B), each with a capital city. Quito is capital of the province of Pichincha. Each province is further divided into cantones.

The provincial form of organization works well enough, except in provinces dominated by large metropolitan such as Guayaquil and Quito. In 1972, the Ley de Régimen Municipal addressed the reality of urban regional dominance. An association of municipalities was created that was independent of the provincial or canton governments (FOM-1980b, 85). In effect, Quito became its own canton, the Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (DMQ), incorporating almost a third of the province of Pichincha. Quito itself had been organized around its traditional neighborhoods. Census tracts and voting districts loosely conformed to these boundaries. The expanded DMQ used the traditional parroquias (parishes), with which the people had always associated, rather than the cantones, which had been an



The various plans developed in the 1930s by the many municipal agencies and quasi-public enterprises serving the city. Their work formed the basis for Quila's first master plan, which was produced by the Uruguayan architect, Jose Oriozola, and which bears his name. Oriozola witnessed the first wave of a new rural-urban migration. This wave of migration was largely the result of the war with Peru. The treaty brokered by the United States sent Ecuador over a third of the land that had been guaranteed by the Treaty of 1893. Indians, mostly from the eastern slopes of the Andes and the jungle, who had been displaced by the fighting and loss of land, flocked to the cities, most of them to Quila.

Oriozola predicted a continued steady growth of the city, but he had no idea what was to come. His plan called for the expansion of the area of Quila from 675 hectares to 3,362 hectares by the year 1960. Today, the urban area has reached a size of 18,000 hectares. Oriozola predicted a population of 150,000 by the year 1960. The 1958 census reflected a population of 1,182,054 in the urban area and 1,234,516 in the metropolitan district (meg) (from 11 1951, 14 and 1957).

Critics today consider Oriozola's plan idealistic and utopian. The current planning director, Fernando Carrion, comments:

Es una forma de visi3n hacia el futuro, que carece de fundamentaci3n en la realidad, lo que el muestra es el

reestructuración espacial al la "planificación" y al  
 análisis de la diferenciación con el concepto de  
 controlado urbano." (García and Vallejo 1992, 145)

McKenzie's centrist plan is diametrically opposed to the  
 decentralization theory presented by García and his staff  
 in the 1988 Plan Metropolitano. McKenzie belonged to the  
 "Garden City" school of planning. He sprinkled his plan  
 generously with large parks and civic and sports areas. He  
 focused the natural expansion of industrial and working-  
 class neighborhoods to the south and the middle-class and  
 upper-class neighborhoods to the north. The northern end of  
 the valley was to be the green district.<sup>17</sup>

McKenzie's plan was also attacked for its economic  
 zoning. There were designated areas for the working-class,  
 who were separated by the central city from the middle-class  
 neighborhoods, which adjoined upper-class neighborhoods,  
 apparently on the assumption that the middle-class had more  
 in common with the wealthy than with the poor. Industrial  
 were grouped adjacent to working-class neighborhoods, and  
 universities adjacent to middle- and upper-class  
 neighborhoods.

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<sup>17</sup>"[McKenzie's plan] is a form of madness regarding the  
 future that lacks a foundation in reality. But it does show that  
 the municipality recognized its problem and had begun to  
 distinguish (badly!) the concept of the controlling of the city."

<sup>18</sup>McKenzie's plan is well-represented in the chapter,  
 "Metropolitano de la planificación urbana en Quito" (1988-91 1991,  
 118-121).

It must be said in Oriónsola's defense that his plan provides a design, a blueprint, for the city's growth as rather what the limit-lines, whereas subsequent plans served to document the status quo, rather than provide a vision for the future. Many of Oriónsola's concepts and creations remain in effect. However, his economic supposition did not reflect the Spanish cultural settlement patterns, which, despite some few exceptions, have prevailed. Rich, poor, and middle class live in much closer proximity than in the United States and most of northern Europe. The economic boundaries in Quito are social rather than physical. But Oriónsola's idea of a garden district did hold. Northern Quito remains the least densely populated area of metropolitan Quito.<sup>10</sup> It is the site of the largest of Quito's parks, Parque Caroline, as well as hundreds of neighborhood parks large and small. Although most of the dwellings in the north are attached or semi-family, yards are much more common than in the south, where houses are built in a more traditional style: more job lines with inner courtyards instead of yards.

Besides seriously underestimating the future growth of Quito, Oriónsola made another short-sighted error. He assumed that commerce would continue to enter the city

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<sup>10</sup>In 1975 the density of north Quito was 45.23 per hectare and the density of south Quito 141.25 per hectare. The density of the central city was 210.25 per hectare (POM-12 1982, 74).



through the southern gateway connecting it to the lesser north-  
thirds of the country: the port city of Guayaquil, and the  
market cities of Ibarra, Babo, Alhambra, Guano, and  
Machala. Quitoais did not focus the growth of inter-  
Andean trade with the countries to the north, Colombia and  
Venezuela, and thus the importance of the northern gateway  
to Quito. Resulting to say, the northern end of the valley  
has developed a booming industrial sector and vibrant  
working-class neighborhoods.

It was twenty years before the next plan emerged. By  
this time, urban growth had far outpaced the planning  
process. The shaping of the city had been taken over by the  
people, by those referred to by planners as the *autonomous  
populares*. The city and its agencies could not meet the  
need for land, much less housing.<sup>2</sup>

### The Urban Crisis

Los cambios en la composición social urbana, las  
diversas lenguajes de apropiación de la territorialidad  
social del período, en los contextos de conflicto cotidiano  
se torna importante, configuran el cuadro general de lo  
que Velázquez ha llamado "urbano de subsistencia  
paternal," esto es "el distanciamiento de la relaciones

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<sup>2</sup>Authors of the current plan criticize the administration of  
the time as being corruptible: "Los instrumentos legales y  
administrativos que el municipio emplea, en aspectos de gestión  
urbana, se vuelven divorciados de la realidad (los instrumentos  
used by the city to manage growth are corruptible)" (1984: 199,  
78). One of the problems was that the city had no centralized  
planning agency until 1973; see, therefore, as single sources of  
urban and regional data and analysis.

landlessness rates dominated y dominated.''' (PCB-2 1981, 78-80).

After independence, most Latin American nations embarked on a policy of modernization based on European economic models. In Ecuador, this policy led to the eventual abandonment of the colonial hacienda system, the replacement of peonage by a wage-based labor system, and a policy of land redistribution that has proceeded by fits and starts from its inception in 1964 to the present. The number of small agricultural land holdings increased dramatically, but this increase was not enough to absorb the number of agricultural workers freed from peonage. In addition, many of the hacienda owners converted to modern agricultural methods based on machinery rather than exploited labor (Harris 1988, 143).

During the 1960s, petroleum production began to exceed domestic consumption and took its place, along with agricultural products, as one of Ecuador's major exports. (Harris 1988, 126). This shift accompanied an explosion of industrial growth stimulated by a national policy of import substitution enforced by high tariffs on imported goods (Harris 1988, 141). The 1950s was a period of free-wheeling

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<sup>19</sup>Other social changes and the various expressions of social unrest during this period, a period in which class conflicts became important, represent what Velasco-Ibarra has called a 'crisis of peasant identity,' that is, 'the dissolution of traditional relationships between the village and the village.'<sup>20</sup>

venture capitalism typical of Latin American economies. A class of nouveau riche (new rich) emerged, particularly in Guayaquil, while the growth of a middle class languished. The new rich had neither a sense of social justice nor national pride. They occupied themselves with avoiding taxes, protecting their privileges, and maintaining the *status quo* (Harris 1968, 133-134). Nevertheless, the government under the energetic five-time president, José María Velasco, made significant improvements to the nation's infrastructure. A comprehensive highway plan was developed and 1841 kilometers of highways were paved. Over 300 schools were built, and Quito, always an educational center, was the site for two new colleges. Central planning theory was institutionalized through the establishment of the Junta Nacional de Planificación in 1954 (Harris 1968, 164-177). Import substitution was made public policy by two important laws that remained in effect through the 1970s: the *Ley de Industrias* and the *Ley de Fomento Industrial*. Policies were also instituted to support agricultural prices (Harris 1968, 178).

The venerable Velasco was finally replaced by the election of Carlos Aramayo, who took steps to curb the irresponsible speculation and currency drain by establishing the *Comité de Desarrollo Industrial* to control and establish standards for the newly emerging industries. He

nationalized the nation's electrical utilities and formed the Banco Nacional de la Vivienda (BNV) to fund low-income housing. Arceles's austerity program affecting all sectors of society and the economy, leading to a decade of recession. Aided the public outcry against Arceles, the military stepped in to restore order. However, the junta militar proved more dedicated than even Arceles to controlling rampant capitalism by nationalizing the nation's utilities and constraining the private sector. The junta established no fewer than five agencies to oversee the economic activity of the nation and insure the social welfare of its citizens, which included the most extensive redistribution of land since agrarian reform had been instituted. The professional civil service established in 1950 was expanded, the number of appointed posts greatly reduced, and the road to quick riches at a cost to the nation was cut off (Herve 1999, 148ff). The policies of centralized government control of the economy begun by the much-maligned Arceles and made effective by the military junta continued into the 1970s, effectively balancing the public and private sectors, minimizing foreign influence, and leading the nation to stable economic growth (Chavez 1995, 41). The decade of the nineties saw healthy expansion in industry, finance, air transport, agro-business, public services, and tourism (Perry 1999, 121). The economy

expanded at an unprecedented 16 percent per year, with some sectors, such as manufacturing and construction, experiencing 18 percent growth rates (Peak and Standing 1985, 121).

Jorge Borja has pointed out that the identification of the state with the capital city gives that city a special status (Borja 1988, 138). This proved true for Quito during the period of the military junta.

The section of the Pan American Highway that passes through Quito was paved, and a number of



Figure 4-5: The dynamics of growth in the case of Quito, Ecuador (1960-8 1985)

major public buildings constructed, including new headquarters for the FVE. In the private sector, high-rise luxury apartments rose on the periphery as well as around the large, centrally located Parque Carlini and along Avenida GARCÍA GÁLVEZ (Lara 1985, 280). Avenida 24 de Mayo was extended to the Paseillo and a new bridge was constructed so that Calle Venezuela could be extended further to the north (Lara 1985, 284).

This combination of factors selected is a dramatic period of urbanization. (See Figure 4-5.) From 1960 to

1990, the city grew in population from 175,399 to 1,534,250, a 861 percent increase in only forty years, while in the four hundred years from colonial times to the turn of the twentieth century, the city had increased in population by only 137 percent. The increase in geographic area was even more dramatic. From 1959 to 1990, the city increased in geographic area from just over 1000 hectares to 24,174 hectares (PDM-2 1990, cit. Lara 1993, 213; PDM-3/30 1992, 321). During the years of prosperity, 1974 to 1982, Quito grew at an average annual rate of 4.37 percent. Even during the economic recession of the 1980s, Quito grew at an annual rate of 1.0 percent (Lara 1993, 320-321).<sup>10</sup> Between 1974 and 1982, 26 percent of the population of Ecuador had moved to cities, with much of this growth distributed fairly equally between Quito and Guayaquil (Schwartz 1995, 25).

These growth rates created a demand on housing and infrastructure that the city could not meet. Urbanists and administrative officials used the term "crisis" liberally as control of the urban growth process slipped away from them. Their reaction was to support a program of legislative acts specifically addressing the urban growth of Quito and

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<sup>10</sup>The decline of the growth rate for Quito during the economic crisis of the eighties conforms to Hollander's and Chen's Theory that migration decreases in bad economic times (Hollander and Chen 1971). However, this observation is somewhat diluted by the fact that, at least in Quito, internal growth due to the decline in rates of infant mortality in the city caused for at least 10 percent of the city's population increases (Quito 1990, 8).

creating, in 1945, the office of Plan Regulador, which formed the basis for the development of Quito's professional planning office, the Dirección de Planificación (Barrios and Vallejo 1983, 148). By 1960, a plan was in place that followed modern zoning practices, a plan even less relevant to the urban dynamic than Cárdenas's plan. The result was

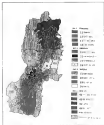


Figure 4-8 Planning and Urban Structure (1960-7)

a more-or-less orderly patchwork of colors indicating land uses. It described the vision que with several major discrepancies. There was much less public space than in Cárdenas's plan and much less than actually existed, although the major

parcs were identified. Likewise, there was a conscious effort to separate residential and commercial activities, although this separation did not and does not reflect the

reality of the urban fabric in Quito or any other Latin American city. However, the planning districts did relate directly to census districts, which, in turn, were based upon historic neighborhood divisions that had developed over time (Fig. 4-4). The government of Quito accepted this plan in 1967 and created the office of Plan Director de Quito. Other elements of the plan included:

1. Extension of the area of the city to 7,155 hectares with a projected overall density of 140 persons per hectare in the next thirty years
2. Establishment of zoning classifications
3. Establishment of setbacks, height limitations, and building areas

The plan also called for a number of studies to be made regarding the location of municipal services, evaluation of a proposal to establish an historic district, and the establishment of a rapid transit system and an inter-connecting system of major roads and tunnels (PDM-11 1968, 122-123).

Current planners have criticized the 1967 plan for its lack of attention to fiscal matters and its failure to establish a means of implementation (PDM-11 1982, 123). And the most valid criticism is that it did not reflect the realities of the urban dynamic. As Hardy and Hallschmid have observed, "Many [Latin American] governments are still trying to plan and build cities for societies which only



exist in the minds of their technicians and politicians" (Barbery and Satterthwaite 1989, 181).

### Agrarian Reform and Urban Growth

In 1944, the military junta that had ended the period of political violence under President Carlos Julio Arangoza Suroy continued the national policy of modernization by ending the traditional Ecuadorian system of patronage, the *encomienda*, effectively forcing the elite class of hacienda owners to change their way of business. Many converted to modern agricultural methods based on machinery rather than unskilled labor (Bravo 1998, 143).

The goal of the government was more economic than social: conversion to a modern economy based on wage labor. However, the military dictatorship proved far more conciliatory to the demands for land redistribution than had the previous presidents, Velasco and Arangoza. The Agrarian Reform Act of 1964 not only made the *encomienda* system illegal, but set in motion the long-needed process of land redistribution (Bravo 1998, 143). The Agrarian Reform Act of 1964 produced two immediate results: it was the death knell to hacienda owners who were not willing or able to mechanize and it increased dramatically the number of small farms (Peak and Standing 1989, 121).

Although the agrarian and land reform acts did not destroy the elite class in Ecuador, it did destroy a much

initial efficiency that had proved inefficient in producing agricultural products, but which had lost much stability in rural areas. The loss of the paternalistic benefits of patronage--food, shelter, health care, financial assistance--may have increased migration to the city, but the net result of these changes on rural-urban migration is difficult to assess. Peter Bush believes that the level of migration decreased substantially, while the Ecuadorian historian Jorge Salvador Lara states that the result of the abolition of the *haciendas* and the redistribution of land resulted in a massive migration to the cities (Park and Standing 1998, 161; Lara 1990, 274).

Despite the lack of studies linking land reform with urban growth, the land reform years correspond to a period of spectacular growth for Quito. For those who experienced this growth, there seemed no question of the connection:

Las transformaciones del agro serrano y el inicio del proceso revolucionario dan lugar a uniproyectarización de las masas trabajadoras y migración hacia los centros urbanos, en especial hacia Quito, que a partir del 48 comienza a crecer a tasas significativamente altas " (Quendo, 45)

Although land distribution may have only been one of several contributing factors, the growth that occurred in these twelve years of land redistribution doubled the

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"The transformation of agriculture in the sierra and initiation of wage substitution in place of the semi-subsistence of workers resulted in migration to urban centers, especially to Quito, which, in the 1950s, began to grow at exceptionally high rates."

population of Quito. Both César Acosta Bravo and Jorge Salazar Lara comment on the unprecedented growth and changes occurring during this period. Lara notes:

Quito es las distintas ciudades . . . en expansión y expansión con rumbo norte, tanto en extensión, sobre pasando todas las previsiones, como en número de habitantes" (Lara 1984, 183; see also Bravo 1983, 136ff.).

#### The Colonial Period

There is no question that the city was changing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not only in size, but also in virtually every other aspect. The population had spread

throughout the entire valley, even up the sides of its surrounding mountains and hills, spilling over into adjacent valleys. Figure 4-7 shows the urbanization of the surrounding valleys by 1700 (that are now incorporated



Figure 4-7 Urban Expansion in 1700  
(from La 1700)

<sup>10</sup>"Quito, in the last decades . . . has expanded as never before, the surrounding areas and populations previous expectations."

into the Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (DMQ). Profiles of this growth can be found in the Appendixes. As the city spread out, the overall density decreased while the historic center of the city actually increased in density from some 200 persons per hectare in colonial times to over 300 persons per hectare in recent times,<sup>18</sup> while the southern and northern areas of the city have averaged 100 and twenty-five persons per hectare respectively (PDM-4 1969, 191). Many of the more elegant, single-family houses of Quito's Centro Histórico were converted to multi-family units, a process Latin Americans call *agrupación*.<sup>19</sup> As the authors of *Agencia Urbana Equinoccial* succinctly state: "Los centros coloniales son también testimonios de un drama humano: uno con más escalantes: la pobreza de sus habitantes y el deterioro de su hábitat que convoca tiempo mejores" (PDM-4 1969, 95).

Following a pattern throughout Latin America, the historic city has been the single most popular point of arrival for most of Quito's immigrants. The percentages of

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<sup>18</sup> Areas reports a density of 407-5 for the Centro Histórico in 1974, 410-3 for San Jorge, and 410-7 for San Juan, both usually considered a part of the historic district. I have used the more conservative figures provided by the Dirección de Planificación, which are usually derived from the official census.

<sup>19</sup> From the Latin *agrupar*, which means a pull but is never the proper word for what is probably meant.

<sup>20</sup> "... the colonial houses remain testimonies of a yesterday human drama, always more acute: poverty and the deterioration of buildings that have never better times."

**Table 4-3**  
**Percentage of population**  
**above poverty level**  
**Central Urban Area**  
**and Historic**  
**Center**

	1960	1970
CUA	27.2	36.9
HC	27.1	36.8
CUA + HC	26.9	37.3
CUA - HC	0.1	0.1
CUA - HC	0.1	0.1
CUA - HC	0.1	0.1
CUA - HC	0.1	0.1
CUA - HC	0.1	0.1
CUA - HC	0.1	0.1
CUA - HC	0.1	0.1

Source: INEC 1970

recent arrivals in the historic district has increased from an average of 15.3 percent in the 1940s to 32 percent in the 1970s

(1940-4 1960, 43 and 55). Over 43

percent of the inhabitants originate from families other than Quila and 55.1 percent arrived less than seven years ago (Armas 1975, 14). Although other established urban neighborhoods, particularly the historic villages of La Magdalena and

Catandina, also serve as important centers of accommodation for new arrivals, the historic center has not still provided the stimulus of what is often characterized as an explosion, the beginning of the trajectory of the urban migrant to permanent establishment in the city.

However, the dispersion of the population predicted by Cabrera did not diminish the population of the Centro Histórico nor change its economic profile, which varies only slightly from the overall metropolitan area (Table 4-3). New arrivals find many economic opportunities within the Centro Histórico, albeit generally in the informal sector. In his survey, Patricia Armas found that 44.4 percent of his subjects worked in the informal sector as vendors, 24.5 percent as artisans, also generally considered informal,

and 14.7 percent as domestic servants, who at least legally are part of the formal economy since they are governed by labor laws and entitled to social security (Quinn 1988, 148).

Nonetheless, the historic center has changed. The percentage of owner-occupants fell precipitously as hereditary owners subdivided their mansions and put the apartments up for rent.<sup>8</sup> Only 28.6 percent of the properties were owner-occupied in 1988, although 42.5 percent of the properties were residential (PDM-8 1988, 61). The most noticeable result of the change from owner-occupied housing to rental units has been the serious deterioration of the buildings. A survey of both owner-occupants and absentee landlords by the Dirección de Planificación found that 48.6 percent expressed no interest in repairing their properties and only 14.6 percent would be willing to share in the cost of repairs (PDM-8 1988, 61).

Surprisingly, the sort of overcrowding associated with slums has not occurred in the historic district. Rooms in the old buildings are large by modern standards and almost 26 percent of renters occupy apartments, virtually all of which have two rooms or more with kitchens and baths. Only 19.7 percent of apartments are occupied by more than three

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<sup>8</sup>Of those who own buildings in the Centro Histórico, 78 percent indicated they (PDM-8 1988, 61).

people (PDR-4 1992, 82). Likewise, the population is surprisingly stable. Almost 54 percent of the population has lived in the same area over five years and 16.1 percent has lived there more than twenty years. Of the population, 78.2 percent represent nuclear families and 88.4 percent are salaried employees.

Table 4-4  
Property Values in Historic  
Quito  
Percentage  
in Various  
Price  
Ranges

	Size in Sqm (1992)				
	0 - 25	25 - 50	50 - 75	75 - 100	100 - 125
1992	84.5	15.8	10	31	
1980	81.5	11.1	14	100	12
1970	81	15.5	100	31	118

Source: Acora 1993

collection, y servicios" (PDR-4 1992, 83). In 1978, the United Nations designated Quito's historic center a patrimony of Humanity. Despite the indifference of the majority of building owners, restoration is occurring, largely due to the influx of public money, which has perhaps contributed to a 3.2 percent decline in population between 1982 to 1990. Although the population loss has not been dramatic, property values have shown a dramatic increase, particularly in the middle range of values, 600 to 800

Despite its deterioration, Quito's planners admit that the Centro Histórico "continúa siendo un espacio vivo, multi-dimensional, donde se articulan diversas funciones y usos, comerciales, viviendas, bancos,

"The Centro Histórico of Quito 'continues to be a dynamic, multi-dimensional space of diverse functions: commercial, residential, financial, educational, and governmental."

Unemployed workers (200 to 400 thousand dollars) (Table 4-6). Whether or not the trend to gentrification has contributed to the decline of population in the Centro Histórico or whether the government facilitation of settlement patterns on the periphery has made the transition from renter to owner easier has not been established by any studies I know of.<sup>2</sup> I suggest that both of these factors are subordinate to the migrant's desire for home ownership. After all, the vast majority of urban migrants come from rural areas where they as their families were property owners living in single, although extended, family households. The result has been the normalization throughout Latin America of a form of land tenure, if not unique to Latin America, endemic to many of the region's growing cities, including Quito:

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<sup>2</sup>Although the *Visión del Desarrollo* uses a valuation of the estate based from the Historic Center to the suburbs as a basis of the likelihood of renting and owning (see 1990: the year 2000 + 1990, 24), it offers no evidence to support this claim. It is much more likely that the lower classes are being displaced by gentrification (Armas 1991, 85).



CHAPTER 5  
THE INFORMAL CITY AND THE GROWTH OF QUITO

[No] las recientes poblaciones quienes tienen una mayor incidencia en el proceso de gestión del habitat, aún considerando la presencia de nuevas acciones en la vivienda, y aun por las acciones realizadas por la permanencia de los barrios en la zona y por la construcción de espacios públicos y privados--en especial respecto a la vivienda--acciones que derivan en la consolidación de un espacio urbano destinado a sectores populares.<sup>3</sup> (CICERO 1982, 87)

The Urban Migrant

The urban migrant has been the single most influential factor in the growth of Quito from 1960 to 1980 (COM-3 1985, 46). The new arrivals swelled the base population, who married and produced children who survived in far greater numbers than in the country as a whole (COM-3 1985, 88). Contrary to the predictions of the anti-urbanist faction, families remained highly viable in the city and produced children whose health and educational status was much improved over their country cousins's.

The Ecuadorian peasant moved to the city for many of the same reasons I have discussed in previous chapters:

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<sup>3</sup>[(11a)] the popular sectors which have had a major influence on the development of the housing market; even considering the presence of new actions, it was the presence of newly established neighborhoods that affected public and private space, but most importantly, housing, and which resulted in the consolidation of urban space inhabited by the common people.<sup>3</sup>

Echeverría et al. (1995) lists five major forces driving urban migration in Ecuador:

1. Inferior conditions of life in the countryside
2. Better salaries and economic benefits in the city
3. Better educational opportunities in the city
4. Lack of basic services in the villages
5. Natural calamities

Echeverría and others report that the majority of migrants believe that their move to the city has met or exceeded their expectations (Echeverría et al. 1995, UN also 1995a, 1995, Pina 1991, PMA-s 1993). It is this group that constitutes the sectors populares who have played a significant role in the physical shaping of Quito, as well as its socio-economic profile. This realization by urban researchers and public policy makers as reflected in the 1992 Plan Distrito Metropolitano represents a major shift in political attitudes toward the popular sector that has slowly evolved since 1984, when Quito gained increased control over the legislation of land within the DMQ (PMA-MDQ 1988, 1994). However, the accommodation of illegal settlements and the absorption of them into the urban fabric remains a challenge. This challenge is addressed by the decentralization proposals in the 1992 plan, whose main thrust is to bring city agencies and services into the barrios through the localization of government offices and

the encouragement of local planning input into city policies that would affect the neighborhood (COPD 1994).<sup>1</sup>

City planners are far behind educational planners, who have long had a decentralization policy in place, with impressive results. Kindergartens and primary schools are very small and service very small catchment areas, almost always related to an urban neighborhood. Secondary schools may serve several neighborhoods, but are also small compared to North American schools. Despite the fact that Ecuadorian public education is itself decentralized into several agencies whose sources of funding are varied and often uncertain, all share the policy of small schools serving identifiable neighborhoods.<sup>2</sup> Literacy is the most measurable evidence of the success of this policy. Literacy is the product of barrier removal from 97 to 98 percent, with even of the longer established barriers, such as COMISA del Pacifico and Unión de las Faldas, reporting 100 percent literacy (Gonzalez 1999, 1991).

While education and the educational system are held in high regard by the popular sector, which is reflected by increasing school attendance at higher levels, other

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<sup>1</sup>The negative side of decentralization is the administrative implications, which I will discuss in my closing comments in Chapter 7.

<sup>2</sup>Information about Ecuador's educational system was provided to me by Eduardo Tena.

government programs have not been as well received. Where possible, humanitarians would rather manage their own affairs and determine what is most needed and how these needs should be met. There are people, who, as I will show in this chapter, are not organizationally naive.

### The Informal Sector

Those who arrive in the city almost invariably work, at least initially, in the informal sector. Although without technical skills, the migrant is not a country bumpkin. Chances are he or she has made previous trips to the city with parents peddling crafts or produce. Nor is the migrant without entrepreneurial skills, since village life revolves around frequent, small economic transactions. However, urban informal activities are far more complex than peasant trade practices. A city is not a collection of villages. Localism is not the prevailing model. Even in the informal sector, the migrant learns to deal with trade organizations, unions, political parties, and government agencies (ibid.

1990, 79). As Lowitt and Glas point out:

... individuals who work in one or the other sectors resort to activities both in the formal, officially regulated sphere and in the informal sphere, which is nourished by their cultural heritage. Resources are recruited and redistributed through both types of activities. (Lowitt and Glas 1990, 49)

In time, the migrant may secure permanent salaried employment, but the transition may be slow and the willingness of the migrant to give up informal economic

activities even closer. In Quito, employment in the informal sector is generally more lucrative than minimum wage jobs. In some of the more recent barrios of Quito, virtually everyone is involved in the informal sector, although not exclusively. Families almost always have a garden and actually produce a surplus to sell. Most have chickens and some even raise a pig or two (Godard 1988, 81ff). As the barrios mature, the ratio of informal activities to salaried employment changes. For instance, in Comuna del Pueblo and Barro Colorado only 50 percent of the population is involved in the informal sector; whereas, in the more recently established *lucha de los pobres*, the entire working-age population is involved in some aspect of the informal economy (Godard 1988, 86).

It is this class of worker--the independent worker and the semi-independent worker--that Mario Ueda sees as the driving force behind the expansion of the city. The vagaries of the old city do not hold the slightest for him. The search for better housing and the opportunity for home ownership leads inevitably to the periphery. "En la localización periférica la que se ha venido haciendo cada vez más recurrida por capas importantes de las clases trabajadoras" (Ueda 1987, 11). Never mind the loss of

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<sup>24</sup>The periphery (of the city) has come to be the most appealing location for settlement by important segments of the working class.

tradition. The sector popular is creating new traditions and a new city.

### SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, PLACES AND PROCESSES

Urban migration augmented by improvements in infant mortality produced population increases in Quito that severely strained its social and economic structure. In the competition for land and housing, the poor adopted a strategy of illegal settlement on unoccupied urban land that has led to shocking implications. As Diego Carrón observes:

Este proceso de urbanización comporta fundamentales transformaciones en la producción, en la circulación de intercambios, distribución y consumo en la organización y estructura urbana; en el Estado y sus instituciones; en la política, la cultura y la ideología; en los conflictos y contradicciones sociales; en el conjunto de instituciones físicas y apoyos materiales requeridos y producidos como condiciones necesarias para el desarrollo de estas procesos sociales.<sup>1</sup> Carrón 1970, 124

Documenting and understanding these changes offers many challenges for future scholars. The goals of this chapter are each more modest: to identify some of the conflicts over land use, to define the roles of the institutions and state-economic sectors involved, and to explore some of the implications resulting from the resolution of this conflict.

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<sup>1</sup>"This process of urbanization has brought fundamental transformations in production; in interchange, distribution and consumption; in organization and social structure; in the State and its institutions; in politics, culture, and ideology; in social conflicts and contradictions; in the organization of physical institutions to support production of materials required by these changes in social processes."

Eguro Westoff has stated the essential urban conflict in no uncertain terms: "Power designs cities, and the greatest form of power is land" (Westoff 1961, 62). Income from land, which derives from the permanent appreciation of this resource, has been a major source of capital accumulation in the modern sector of Latin American economies (Hobbes 1962, 124). The control of urban land in recent times has involved three groups: the government, speculators, and the sector popular (POM-1 1980, 84). The fact that Quito is located in a long, narrow valley closed by ravines and surrounded by precipitous mountains makes land a finite resource and the conflict potentially as incendiary as the surrounding mountains. Not just as Quito has been blessed with an honest and effective government, a number of unique conditions have mediated this conflict.

Luis Ospende (1983, 73-74) has identified five settlement patterns typical of Quito:

- 1- Incorporation of old towns into the urban fabric
- 2- Occupation, legal and illegal, of state controlled lands
- 3- Occupation, usually illegal, of marginal land
- 4- Occupation, usually illegal, of unused agricultural land
- 5- Subversion by large and medium landowners

The government has been a major player in the development of land, not only because it serves to balance

the relationships between those with access to capital and those without, but because it became a large landowner itself due to the national policy of land redistribution initiated in the 1930s, as well as the territorial expansion of the city as a result of the creation of the Distrito Metropolitano de Quito that occurred in the 1970s. As a result of these two policy initiatives, Quito found itself in possession of a number of haciendas, notably La Carolina, which became the nucleus of a large central park and an adjacent middle class neighborhood planned and developed by the city. Other haciendas were turned into the working class neighborhoods of Zona I and II. Bolinda, the hacienda owned by the wife of the great hero of the revolution, Bartolomé Morea, was donated to the city and was developed as a *barrio popular*. The social security agency, ISSS, developed the Villa Flora as a working class neighborhood, but its spectacular location and views are changing its demographics. In addition to these developments, the city built public housing at Lincecoto, San Carlos, and Canelillo. Other lands owned by the city were turned into parks or ecological zones (area 1940, 1943 and 1945).

As the city grew within the confines of the valley of Pichincha, it incorporated a number of historic villages that date from colonial times. Some identified these colonial towns now considered city neighborhoods:



Delimbanke, Pannapoi, Catoccolico, Surpilikheba, Barapoi, Gumbayk, Gupela, Hagdiana, and Chilikopdia (late 1980, 197). These old towns are easily identifiable by the casual observer because of the predominance of colonial architecture, narrow streets, and the ever present church. Despite their uniqueness, they have been firmly woven into the urban fabric by transportation, basic utility services, social services, political organizations, recreational and educational facilities, and participation in the urban marketplace (1980-8 1981).

Compared to the city, private developers have played only a small part in the housing market of the city. Although it is estimated that 38 percent of the urban area has been developed by speculators, much of this development has been commercial (1980-8 1982, 94). In the 1950s there was a rash of speculation. Large landholders subdivided their land and sold it off in lots much as speculators do in North America. By the 1970s, speculation was rampant (1980-8 1982, 14). In 1971, the national and metropolitan governments stepped in to control speculative practices. Private development was limited to ten lots (1980-8/10 1983, 121). Since that time, the government has been pre-active in reducing urban land prices by controlling speculation, selling land at less than market value, and financing land and housing costs through their own development bank, the

Junco Escobariano de la Vivienda (JEEV) and the national social security agency, the Instituto Escobariano de Seguridad Social (IESS) (B. Carrido 1973, 1991). In effect, the city has functioned not so much as conciliator but as an active manipulator of land values. Through the subsidized sale of its slumlike holdings to co-owned groups, the city has kept the cost of land well below the inflation rate, thus discouraging speculation in the housing market.<sup>2</sup> Both the city and state have intervened directly in speculative markets through capital investments in critical areas of the city, through appropriate legislation, and through restrictive controls on activities that "diffuse a population of 'normal' desarrollo de la vivienda" (B. Carrido 1973, 194). Through its planning process, the city has delineated areas where the market value of land will prevail and speculation can occur and those where value of land and speculation is suppressed (B. Carrido 1973, 146). But perhaps the most effect control the city has had on the direction of growth has been orchestrated by its public works agency through its road construction. Though not as articulate as the planning agency, public works has been able to direct city growth far more efficiently than the

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<sup>2</sup>One such transfer to the Comité Pro-Vivienda Popular by the JEEV resulted in the creation of five new housing, any of which are now actively selling close (Bancarrota et al. 1991, 9).

<sup>3</sup>"Order or prejudice the normal development of society."

application of zoning on the North American model. As the recent feud between Quito proper and the colonial towns of Napóles and Chilinguito was settled, their road systems were connected to Quito's grid. Thanks to the standard checkerboard pattern of roads favored by the Spanish this interconnection provided an almost perfect fit. Today, the previous existence of these towns is virtually indistinguishable on modern maps. The incorporation of Avenida García Rocca, which had been the historic route through the city, as well as the creation of a modern highway, Avenida Venezuela de Pichincha, on the old highway to Chilinguito resulted in a plethora of new barrios: Atahualpa and San Bartolo near the city center; Barro Colorado, Nariño, Chisole, and El Pintado to the east; and Llanos, Chiriquí, Ferrocarril, and Surjudo to the east (Lara 1992, 340). Within the city, construction and improvements of Avenida 10 de Agosto, Solón, 1 de Diciembre, 12 de Octubre, La Piedad, and Amazonas resulted in a decentralization of commercial activity from the historic city center, along with an attendant development of new urban neighborhoods adjacent to these arterial (Lara 1992, 341). Many of these neighborhoods developed outside of the formal confines of the public and private sectors.

### The Informal Solution

Despite the efforts of the national and municipal governments to protect the disadvantaged from the excesses of speculation and to provide subsidized land and construction costs, a large segment of the population was excluded from the housing market. Each year the shortfall in housing provided by the private and public sectors increased. The gap was made up by private initiatives outside the formal economy. As Diego Canales observed: "Esta situación obligo a los estratos populares a buscar un subterfugio y cuando ilegal para satisfacer sus necesidades se les vio obligado a especular" (D. Canales 1979, 140).

During the 1970s, a new settlement pattern came to dominate the periphery of Quito: the occupation of unused land by organized groups and the development of that land for residential and supporting commercial use. Latin Americans have many names for these neighborhoods, which are common throughout Latin America: *barrios clandestinos*, *asentamientos*, *asentamientos populares*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>"Esta situación requirió que el sector popular se buscara un subterfugio: el ilegal market se volvió la solución (del housing), limitado sólo por las economías ocultas."

<sup>4</sup>"The terms applied to these settlements often reflect one's political or social attitude toward the settlers themselves. The authors of *Asentamientos populares* use a politically correct, neutral term, *asentamientos populares*, and define them as "settlements made without municipal authorization" (1980:4 1910, 121).

During the 1950s, the first of these settlements in Quito appeared in the hills to the west, Las Faldas de Fichalocha. These evolved into the neighborhoods of San Juan, Teñiloco, and La Cumbre. On the east side of the valley two others emerged at about the same time, La Tola and Alajuelo (late 1950s, 1960). It is impossible today to think of these neighborhoods as other than a part of the urban fabric. They are solidly middle-class, served by public transportation, with substantial houses, water, electricity, sewers, paved streets, sidewalks, street lighting, schools, and clinics. However, their evolution to middle-class status was slow, at least initially, and subject to the economic fortunes of the city, which suffered during the 1970s due to the worldwide depression.

The shortfall in available housing in Quito reached critical mass in the 1960s, despite a massive housing project to the north of Quito. This project, Salazarito, was quickly filled by the middle class. The poorest moved even further to the periphery and settled the hardscrabble shantytowns of Mosquera, Compañía, Itabamba, and Pampas. In the 1970s, the government continued to finance and construct housing projects. In two short years, 1974-75, the national government created the urban neighborhoods of San Carlos, Casavisa, Zona I and II, and Islas de Clara

1980, 203-204). Unlike the informal settlements, they were going to receive city services.

Despite the best efforts of the city and national governments, a significant proportion of settlements were made informally. From 1903 to 1998, 311 settlements were registered with the municipal government. Of these, 144 were, in the terms of city officials, *ilegales* (PDM-3/99 1990, 194). These new settlements were creations of the informal sector, created without benefit or approval of city authorities. Definitions of this group, even by those sympathetic to its problems, generally imply not only limited participation in and benefits from the modern economic system, but also political as well as economic disenfranchisement. Both intellectuals and the middle class commonly refer to members of the informal sector somewhat derogatorily as *marginales*.<sup>10</sup> The reality lies far from these misconceptions:

The contribution of the popular sector to the housing stock and, by collective extension, to the shape of the city has been documented by the Dirección de Planeación, Quito's planning agency. By the 1940s the city's growth had out-paced its capacity to provide housing. The city and its

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<sup>10</sup>Like the *illegales* marginales are "those who live at the poverty level in conditions of crowding and who have limited access to basic services, such as potable water, sewage, etc." (PDM-3 1990, 111)

agencies could not meet the need for land, much less housing. The deficit in living units had climbed to an all-time high of 511,808 in 1961. By 1966, this number had decreased to 324,808, in large part due to the contribution of the informal sector (B. Carruth 1978, 1987). By 1988 the informal sector was providing 73.4% of new housing (PCN-d 1988, 181).

Most if not all of this housing was at the most substandard at best. Yet the transition to more substantial housing usually occurred in short order, largely due to Quito's cool climate. The tin and plywood shanties that were thrown up in a hurry to consolidate the family's and community's claim to the land were soon replaced by brick or block structures built to facilitate a second and third story. Although sometimes assisted by the architectural students of Quito's Universidad Central, by and large the new settlements were planned and settled by groups of marginals who had organized themselves into a committee whose purpose was to obtain land and settle it.

Quito's city planners refer to these settlements rather nicely as *asentamientos populares*. On the street they are more commonly referred to simply as *barrios* in contrast to *urbanizaciones*, which indicate middle or upper class neighborhoods. Whatever they are called throughout Latin America, scholars have come to the consensus that they are,

surprisingly enough, not victims of the chronically poor. They are almost all in the process of dynamic improvement, of upward mobility (Gilbert 1984, 74 and for Quito specifically, Schewerle et al, 1983). The shanty town of the 1950s is now most likely a working class urban neighborhood with all the amenities, one that may even house a number of white collar workers and budding entrepreneurs.<sup>12</sup>

The varying population settled with and without the cooperation of the municipal government on state controlled lands, under used or abandoned agricultural land, and marginal land (Parades 1982, 72-84). The vast majority of the asentamientos populares have been settled through an increasingly organized process of land invasion and construction financed by private savings, loans from friends and relatives, and loans from informal barrio organizations.

These informal, illegal settlements have been by far the most common settlement pattern contributing to the growth of Quito. By 1983, informal settlements accounted for 75 percent of all residential growth (Parades 1984, 12). This pattern of settlement has by no means stopped. On August 8, 1984, a major Quito newspaper, El Comercio,

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<sup>12</sup>The urban research agency in Quito, CIUDAS, has done a number of studies to substantiate this phenomenon in Quito. See "Organización de las barrios populares del noroccidente de Quito" (1983)



reported the following six new land invasions in the past forty months:

1. April, 1983: La Forestal Niza, 124 lots, 21,000 m<sup>2</sup>. Located in an ecologically protected area. Committee has filed paperwork with city for legalization.
2. August, 1984: La Pro-Cooperativa in Belgrano, seventy-five families, 4,000 m<sup>2</sup>. Located on land owned by the city and state. Cooperative is negotiating with state agency (1985) for right to occupy.
3. August, 1984: Colinas, 254 families, 25,000m<sup>2</sup>. This is an encroachment on adjacent land by Comité del Futuro No. 1, a now legal settlement. The national legislature declared the encroachment legal after three attempts to remove the settlers that resulted in one death.
4. February, 1985: El Auténtico Cordero Negro, 208 families. Located on land owned by the Hospital Pedro Kuczynski. The case is being applied to the national legislature.
5. September, 1985: Cooperativa San Juan Don Bosco. 208 families on four hectares. Land owned by national agency for nuclear security (1985). Cooperative has applied to city for recognition.
6. June, 1986: Tapanaki Alto, 208 families occupying land owned by state (1985).

This same article reported that in 1986 the government legalized 240 illegal settlements in Quito. Government authorities in Quito are careful to point out that the term "illegal" does not refer to ownership or use of the land, but to the fact that the land is developed in non-compliance with the municipal planning process (Gonzalez 1993, 67).

This underlying right of the state to dispose of land is fundamental to the numerous land redistribution laws

passed and were at least endorsed throughout Latin America. Land reform fell well within the popular acceptance of the right of the state to determine the proper use of the land. The elites, whose land has been redistributed, have been remarkably compliant, although they have occasionally used their power and influence to slow the process and to influence the decision as to what lands are to be redistributed, usually the poorest--

Land reform is generally associated with rural areas; however, it has also been applied to unused lands in or in proximity to cities. In the case of Quito, several plantations within the metropolitan area were confiscated by the government in the 1960s and formed the basis for public housing developments (Hart 1982, 242-243). Ecuador's constitution of 1979 followed the pattern of Latin American legal precedents by recognizing private property, but also made an important change: it gave cities the right to grant title to contested lands within their established jurisdictions. Prior to this, it had been necessary to petition the national assembly to obtain the right to expropriate land and claim title to it. In effect, the constitution recognized the validity of informal settlements and gave cities jurisdiction over them. In the 1980s, Quito moved to legalize all the shanties within the metropolitan district as authorized by the constitution and recommended by the 1981

master plan (CUBAO 1993, 45) ... The process of legislation became immeasurably simpler.

Legislation, that is, recognition by the municipality, is prime *de facto* evidence of the intent to integrate a settlement into the urban fabric. It not only allows individuals to obtain legal title to the land they occupy, but gives the neighborhood an edge in obtaining services such as sidewalks, street lighting, street paving, as well as health and social services above and beyond the basic services that the city is committed to provide whether a settlement is legal or not (CUBAO 1993, 46).

#### The Informal Settlement Process

En tales condiciones económicas muy favorables, se intensificó ilegal prospera y se consolidó como un modalidad de expansión de la ciudad.<sup>12</sup> (Gonzalez 1993, 93)

All land invasions have in common at least three basic steps: (1) organization, (2) locating the land, and (3) consolidation. Within these three broad activities lie many variations, but the most consistent seems to be the organizational structure behind the land invasion. The coordination and planning of a land invasion requires a considerable logistical effort. Settlers must be organized, operational funds must be raised, a political base secured,

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<sup>12</sup>En tales condiciones económicas muy favorables, se intensificó ilegal prospera y se consolidó como un modalidad de expansión de la ciudad.<sup>12</sup>

land leveled and subdivided, a system of government established, security insured, rules and regulations written, and the process of legitimization begun. This well thought out process has become increasingly institutionalized in recent years. Today in Quito there is an umbrella organization, the Quito Pre-Municipal Popular, that supports and assists the coordination, the planning, and execution of land invasions by providing legal, administrative, and technical assistance to groups seeking land (Hobbesville et al. 1988, 5).

Contrary to some perceptions, Latin Americans have a strong sense of the "rule of law." Until registered with the Varamiento Nacional de Cooperativas (VNC), the initial organization is called a pre-cooperative. Once the group is formally registered, which sometimes does not occur until the land invasion has been executed, the organization becomes a Cooperative. During the period 1959-1987, 183 Cooperatives were registered in Quito. National regulations require that the members elect an executive board and a vigilance board (Burguel 1988, 40). Initially, these boards are dominated by the organizers of the invasion, but once the invasion occurs, the cooperative gradually evolves into a democratic, politically engaged organization (Garcia 1985, 1988). All participants in the initial organization of the invasion must be members of the cooperative.

Although membership in the cooperative may be open to all, nevertheless all cooperatives have the following requirements for membership in common (Schwartz et al. 1985, 81):

1. Must be an active member of the cooperative
2. Must not own property anywhere else
3. Must be a resident of quite and work in province of Pichincha
4. Must be able to make advance down payment on lot (often not much more than the equivalent of two or three dollars)
5. Must be a member of a family group of at least three members (unions other than marriage are recognized)
6. Must present evidence that the family is able to make payments on the lot and house

Generally, the cooperative charter forbids speculation by requiring property owners to occupy their lots and by discouraging or even forbidding renting any part of the property—one house, one lot, one family. Likewise the charter and subsequent subdivision plan requires and identifies public areas, such as parks, plazas, public gardens, playgrounds, streets, and sites for community, religious, and educational uses (Morris 1985, 93ff).

Prior to the invasion, the cooperative organizes itself into committees to plan the invasion, to distribute the lots, layout the streets, and locate schools, churches, and public spaces. Barclay and Satterthwaite observe that

the location of the settlement, the site plan and the connection it has with the rest of the city are often

carefully thought out by its inhabitants. The sheer diversity of the wage illegal settlements deriving and the complexity of each settlement's connection to the wider city, society and economy defy academic or bureaucratic approaches which seek to classify them. (Stanley and Satterthwaite 1985, 48)

During the early years of expansion, the prime target of invasions was unused agricultural land. This was true of the largest of the invasions, Comité del Pueblo, and is also true of a more recent large scale settlement, Lucha de los Pastores. However, the valley is rapidly filling up. The recent invasions mentioned earlier have been on either government owned land designated for other uses, most often pasture, or on land subject to natural catastrophes, such as ravines and steep mountain sides, which are subject to flooding and mud slides. The city is rightfully concerned about these settlements and is particularly concerned with the deforestation and consequent destabilization of areas above Quito. In 1978, a mud slide inundated the middle class suburb of La Gaceta with eight feet of mud, quite possibly the result of increased runoff from the illegal settlements in the hills above. Ironically, these new settlements high up the mountains are developing into picturesque suburbs and command an irrefutable view of the city below.

Location of a settlement site is thus the prime concern and most serious problem for recent housing cooperatives. The risk of occupying city or state owned land is

sanctioned by shooting land under the jurisdiction of the vicin' council assembly agency, the SCS, which is seen as a sympathetic agency by the peas... of the six settlements occurring between 1983 and 1994, four were on lands controlled by the SCS. One was at least partially in a reserve and the other is an ecologically designated area. The most recent invasion, Loma de Indiole, is in an area owned by the city which was to be the site of a future park. At this time only a summer field exists, which the new settlers have taken advantage of by forming a town.

Before the actual invasion occurs, there is often a flurry of negotiations with landowners, their agents, or representatives of the city or state agencies involved. At the same time, the occupiers will attempt to solidify the political connections. The failure of negotiations to purchase land or otherwise occupy land legally has not discouraged invasions. The plan usually proceeds more or less on schedule. The land is occupied, often on a weekend or national holiday. Building lots are marked off with stones and walls, national flags are flown, and a room is started naming the new barrio for a particular political purpose, national hero, or popular slogan, such as "Lucha de los pobres" (the struggle of the poor).

Occupation is by no means the end of negotiations. Although there may be some other settling, generally all

parties want to avoid violence. Nevertheless, the cooperative will have established a security committee, which usually consists of one person with a shotgun and the rest with sticks.<sup>12</sup> In the coming weeks and months, buildings began to take shape. As the battle takes form, the leaders of the cooperative invite their political superiors to tour the area. Land is presented to the Catholic Church, which then becomes a vested interest aligned with the cooperative.<sup>13</sup>

Table 3-1  
Summary of One Service Annual Petitions to Agencies  
+ = Success - = Failure

	+	-	
City	2	0	Industries
National Congress	4	1	Hospitals,
			transportation, goods,
			land appropriation
Govt Minister	0	2	Suppression
Protestant Council	2	2	Mechanized equipment
Ministry of Health	2	2	National Clinic
Ministry of Education	2	0	School
University	2	0	Technical assistance
Water Department	2	0	Extension of service
Ministry of Culture	0	1	Library
National Cooperative	1	0	Solidarity
Public Works	1	0	Repair of systems
Dept. of Sanitation	1	0	Extension of service
Ministry of Agriculture	1	0	Green belt planting
Electric Utility Company	1	0	Extension of service

Source: Garcia 1981

<sup>12</sup>When Ecuador has strict gun control laws, the only weapons in the hands are likely to be shotguns, which are legal only if they hold three or less shells.

<sup>13</sup>This generic description of an invasion is a composite derived from many sources: Jon E. Carlson 1975, CLAUDIO VITA, Mexico 1971, Wilson 1976, Gubert 1980, et al.



The cooperative begins to evolve as a political organization as well as a community agency. Although it continues to control the distribution of lots, the social cohesion of the cooperative is often challenged by a committee of women,<sup>12</sup> whose priority is the extension of infrastructure to the neighborhood. Both the cooperative, which is now referred to as a *Cooperativa de vivienda* (housing cooperative), and the women's barrial develop an intricate web of contacts outside the barrio, thus strengthening the connection of the barrio to the city at large and dividing it into the urban fabric (Table 3-1). Other organizations emerge serving specific groups or special interests. Sports clubs and leagues play an important part in the social life of a neighborhood and often draw a following outside the barrio, which also serves to integrate the neighborhood into the urban context. Moreover, within the barrio who are not eligible to participate in the original barrio organization often form their own groups, which generally are more democratic than the *Cooperativas de vivienda*. Women's groups play an important role, not only in lobbying for kindergartens, child care and educational facilities, but by facilitating

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<sup>12</sup>These are called *comités barriales*, the literal interpretation of which is "not body committee."

the establishment of job training programs for women.<sup>17</sup> Men's clubs also have positive social values. Many are committed to dealing with alcohol abuse and father-son relationships. Since truck pickup is often non-existent in new barrios, health brigades composed of both men and women, children and adults, are organized to both enforce rules and clean public spaces, including public toilets. These brigades de salud can be extremely important social and political organizations (CUEVAS 1992, 2001).

#### Profile of a land invasion

Appendix G contains the complete chronology of an invasion that occurred in 1983 in *Barrio de las Flores* in one of successfully established urban neighborhoods, legally recognized by the city and state. However, the process of consolidation, recognition, and integration into the urban fabric spans ten years.

In 1983, the Confederación Escudoriana de Organizaciones



Figure 6-11: Original form of settlement (August 1984)

<sup>17</sup>Lella Rodríguez has written an excellent article about the role of women in a Guico barrio, "Women's Work," in *Lella Rodríguez PROTESTANTES* (1994).

Comisariado (CERO), sponsored a small invasion of property adjacent to the new Via Oriental on the abandoned Santa Ana hacienda. Only two hundred lots were occupied, but demand by the urban poor for more land was overwhelming. Hundreds came forward with the 1800 acres about 1950 at the time to join the cooperative. One of the founders of CERO, Efraín Velásquez, took a leadership role in maintaining a second much larger invasion of the entire property, some 120 hectares.

Velásquez was a radical political leader with a long history of involvement with urban sindicatos and peasant organizations. He had been one of the founders of the Partido Revolucionario Cristiano (PRC) and, in 1975, became president of CERO, which was closely linked to the Catholic Church and the PRC. In 1948, Velásquez split with both CERO and the PRC, but continued to have considerable influence among the peasants and urban poor who were members of the pre-Cooperative he had organized for the second invasion.

The pre-Cooperative had been organized from a hard core of activists from CERO. A union leader, Alejandro Paredes, a friend of Velásquez, was appointed president by the CERO leadership committee. Another friend, Sera Domínguez, was given the task of surveying the extent of the hacienda. While leading a tour of the property by cooperative members,

she ran into one of the heirs of the property. Benedita Herrera, Mrs. Herrera and her nephew, Carlos Herrera, had inherited the hacienda from Luis Herrera, who had been Secretary of State under Ibarru Velasco. Mrs. Herrera ordered them off the property, but said they could buy it and used as outcropping rent. The cooperative then contacted her attorney, Gregorio Rojas, who reported that Mrs. Herrera did not want to deal with them. As an interesting aside, Rojas subsequently contacted the cooperative and offered his assistance in turning the hacienda in return for possession of half of the land. His offer was refused.

The cooperative was faced with a dilemma: whether to occupy the land illegally or abandon the project. Amidst fear and hesitation, Farfán stepped down as president of the cooperative. He was replaced by another union leader, Ivan Aurelio Barcha. Barcha proved to be an astute leader. He assured the members that the cooperative would not appropriate the land by force, but would seek a fair and affordable price to pay by appealing to the government. Barcha chose to make this request in August, 1973, just as the presidential campaign was beginning. As he stated, "In the campaign season, the whole world is on the side of the poor" (Marguel 1974, 44).

On the night of August 15, 1983, about 100 of the then 400 members of the cooperative, laden with building

materials, but all in good spirits, occupied a portion of the hacienda. They worked six night building shifts. They cut down about 400 trees to block the entry road. Ward agreed throughout the city that land was available for a down payment of only 1000 acres (about \$100 at that time). The poor rushed to join the cooperative. In a matter of months, the equitists numbered between two and three thousand.

Immediately after the invasion, the cooperative submitted a decree proposal to the National Congress to expropriate the hacienda in favor of the cooperative. The decree was presented by Jorge Chiriboga, a representative from the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP), the party to which Aurelio Bernal and Velázquez now belonged.

At the same time, the landowners moved to return the land. At her lawyer's advice, Rosalita Bernal

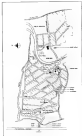


Figure 5-2: Luisa de Fajardo in the Final Configuration (Bogotá 1955)

requested the Instituto Brasileño de Reforma Agraria y Colonización (IBRACI, the organization responsible for administering land reform, verify that the land had been allegedly overpaid, which was done. Both the Executive Director of IBRACI and Carlos Barreto's lawyer wrote letters to the Secretary of Government and Police requesting that the settlers be removed.

However, forces on the side of the cooperative were also in action. Jorge Chiriboga had mobilized the legislative labor and Social Committee, who subsequently proposed that the Santa Ana lands be expropriated by the state in favor of the cooperative, because the property was "completely abandoned without fulfilling its social function" (charged 1989, 61).

Toward the end of August, both the invasion leaders and the Barretas were summoned to the office of the Assistant secretary of the Interior, Vladimiro Alvarado, for mediation. The Barretas demanded to be paid 348 million sucres for the property, while the cooperative was only prepared to pay thirty million sucres, about \$300,000. The Assistant secretary wrote a letter to the Commander of Police in Quito requesting that further settlement be prevented. The conciliatory nature of this letter infuriated the Barretas, who complained to the President of the Republic, the President of the National Congress, and the President of the

Supreme Court with copies of their letter to El Comercio, a major newspaper in Quito. El Comercio published an article accusing the Assistant Secretary of the Interior of "giving carte blanche to the effected invasives" (Burguel 1980, 42).

The cooperative, now officially named the Cooperativa de la Lucha de las Faldas, responded by organizing a protest march to the newspaper's office demanding a rectification. The newspaper interviewed and published the comments of the cooperative president, Ivan Barba, articulating the squatter's side of the story. This story was followed by television coverage presenting the squatters in a favorable light.

To further consolidate their position, the cooperative leaders requested an audience with the Bishop of Quito, Monsignor Antonio González, who received them and acquainted himself with the situation. The Catholic Church in Ecuador has generally been supportive of the poor and a proponent of social justice. As the Bishop stated to Burguel, "The Church had to be with the poor . . . in make the preferential option for the poor effective" (Burguel 1980, 42). Archbishop González further visited the barrio and celebrated mass with the settlers. He went even further by personally urging the Assistant Secretary to renounce the idea of a forcible eviction and by visiting Benicléa Herrera and asking her to give up the hacienda. Her nephew

was outraged. He called on the Bishop and asked, "Since when is the Catholic Church in bed with the Communists?" (Burgess 1988, 43). Nevertheless, the Bishop and the Assistant Secretary joined forces to pressure and appease. Both wished to avoid a violent confrontation. However, the Barreras continued a hard line. They fired their lawyer and engaged Edgar Sordo, who was adamantly opposed to the President of the Republic, Gerardo Barrios, and took the job to be a thorn in his side. Carlos Barrera had also resorted to bribery of a friend of the Assistant Secretary, who neither obtained an eviction nor gave the money back, but the barreras's most powerful support came from the president of the regional Chamber of Agriculture, Ramiro Canache, who had the ears of both the Secretary of Interior and President Barrios. When Canache announced to the press that he was going to denounce the Secretary of the Interior to the Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees and would facilitate criminal action against him, the likelihood of an eviction increased drastically. At least 500 families abandoned the settlement out of fear. The remaining squatters prepared themselves to resist. Police estimated that an eviction would cost up to twenty deaths on both sides. Canache backed down, stating that "the President [Barrios] and the Secretary [Yocel] did not want to be held responsible for the loss of human lives and obviously I wasn't happy either



about the prospect" (Barquell 1995, 461). But the most important factor was exactly what Barrios had counted on--the presidential election. Leon Febres Cordero had been expected to win easily, but the results required a runoff, with Barrios holding office some six months longer. Barrios found himself taking on the role of mediator between the Herreros and the squatters, during which time Carlos Herreros came to the conclusion that he could do business with the cooperative. However, there were still disagreements over the price, installment payments, and location of land across the Via Oriental, the highway that cut across the property.

On February 22, 1994, the National Congress decreed in favor of the settlers. Barrios, who had never been a supporter of land invasions, vetoed the bill, stating that "expropriation would have legitimized the invasion" (Barquell 1995, 461). Barrios had expected to win the runoff election, but in a surprise victory, Febres Cordero, who would be expected to initiate the expropriation bill, won. This change in political atmosphere forced an agreement between the Herreros and the cooperative. A preliminary purchase deed was signed in the amount of 118 million pesos, a little over a million dollars. From that moment on the interests of the cooperative and the Herreros merged. The squatters were squatters no longer. The struggle now would

be directed toward the acquisition of infrastructure and services.

### Life in the Sierra

All their small, mud buildings by the poor look very similar: unadorned structures one story, very small masonry structures without stucco, often without doors or glass windows, metal roofs. As settlements develop, their distinct character emerges, although even in their maturity there is a sameness about the street scene that is probably a result of both their Spanish and indigenous heritage.

Despite the physical similarities of the built environment, settlement groups in Quila are not generally homogeneous. Although the majority of migrants to Quila are from the sierra and no doubt retain their rural and village ties, the groups that form an invasion usually come from a widely dispersed geographic area and are bound only by a common cause--the desire for their own land.<sup>12</sup> Not only are these groups not homogeneous in terms of village origins, a study sponsored by CINEAD, finds that they are not economically homogeneous, but are inside families who might

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<sup>12</sup>In their study of five sierras, Echeverría et al. (1985, 164) found that nearly five percent of the population came from the sierra. Wells (1984) found the same percentage in her study of El Comal in the south of Quila. In her study, the single largest group (40 percent) came from Oaxaca. Over time some of the laborers came to be dominated by migrants from large, but this overstatement appears to be rare.

he considered middle class as well as the poor (CIGLAS 1992, 47).

One of the most serious considerations of Barrio life, not only by world health organizations but also by city and national agencies is nutrition. In his study of five Barrios, Echeverría found that 93.8 percent of the inhabitants eat three meals a day and only 4.5 percent eat two meals a day, while 1.6 percent eat four or more times a day (Echeverría et al. 1988, 148). The problem appears not to be one of hunger, but of nutrition, which is not so apparent a problem. Despite the fact that Ecuador is a

relatively poor country, hunger is not endemic either in the countryside or cities. Although economic play a large part in a person's decision to migrate to the city, educational opportunities are almost as important. Education is viewed as the means to improve a

Table 3-2  
Levels of Education  
in Five Barrios

	men	women
% Barrios	44.3	55.7
Pre-school	19.8	18.4
Primary	49.2	51.9
Secondary	27.4	31.3
University	4.3	12.1

Source: Echeverría et al.  
1988

family's social and economic status. The high regard for education helps to explain both the low incidence of illiteracy in the barrios, but also the immense in educational levels of its population as a Barrio ages. Echeverría found that the literacy rate in 1980 in his study

and was 54 percent, but had jumped to 83 percent in 1982. An increase in those attending secondary and university level courses showed a similar increase (Table 3-2) (Rohwertha et al, 1983, 1987; see also Godard 1988, 81). In a survey of occupations in this same study, students were by far the largest single group (Table 3-3).

According to government statistics unemployment rates are fairly low in Quito; although, as I have shown elsewhere, the informal economy accounts for a very large percentage of economic activities.<sup>1</sup>

Table 3-3  
Composition of Barrio Residents (Percentage)

Professional/Technical	3.4
Administrative	1.9
Office Workers	4.1
Sales Clerks	3.5
Hotel/Restaurant	1.8
Artisans	5.5
Teachers	3.3
Students	14.8
Housewife	27.3
Military	0.5
Unemployed	5.5

Source: Rohwertha et al, 1988

Within the formal economy, even during the economic problems of the 1980s, unemployment in Quito was only 11 percent (COTAB 1988b, 184). Interestingly enough, barrios both create work and attract economic activities. As a barrio ages, more of its work force is absorbed within the barrio. For instance, in the relatively recent Lucha de los Bobos, almost everyone works outside the barrio whereas, in the older barrio of Comita del Puma, 18 percent work outside the barrio and in the mature barrio of Pardohera, 51 percent work locally (Godard 1988, appendix 22).

Despite the volatility of politics within the barrio, it provides an extremely stable environment. Home ownership

is extremely high. A study by CUCBA indicates that the average of owner-occupied dwellings in quite is 48 percent, while in the least decent 18 percent home ownership is common.

Table 3-4  
Length of Residency in  
Selected Barrios  
(Percentage)

1 mo. - 1 yr.	14.3
2 yrs. - 4 yrs.	25.7
4 yrs. - 6 yrs.	17.6
6 yrs. - 8 yrs.	21.4
8 yrs. -10 yrs.	14.7
Over 10 years	3.9

Source: Interview of 40 1982

Ironically, in upper class

neighborhoods, home ownership is much lower, only 14 percent (CUCBA 1980, 94-97). In older neighborhoods, 70 percent or more have lived there more than ten years (Table 3-4). Even through the economic crisis for a family is generally upward, families are often reluctant to leave the barrio and choose to satisfy their needs for better living conditions within the neighborhood they know (Rodrig 1979, 97).

#### Consolidation and the Family Barrios

Aunque todos los movimientos populares tienen presencia en sus demandas y acciones de los servicios más elementales, son los movimientos paratolares. Muchos de ellos son movimientos sectores urbanos de buena calidad que disponen de infraestructuras, servicios y equipamiento urbano. Entre los diferentes de otros sectores habitados por estratos socio-económicos más débiles.<sup>12</sup> (FOM 1982, 22)

<sup>12</sup>Although all of the popular movements had previous inquiries and looked over the most basic services, they have improved over time. Many are actually high quality urban areas complete with infrastructure, services, and urban facilities.

Gedard (1961) has developed a list of criteria to test the degree of consolidation within a neighborhood. His surveys collected the following information from residents in his study of five barrios:

1. Age over 60
2. Health
3. Secondary education
4. More than ten years residency
5. Work in barrio
6. Income
7. Food consumption
8. More than four electrical appliances
9. Property ownership
10. More than three persons per dwelling
11. Quality of life
12. Availability of dental services
13. Health and educational services
14. Affiliation with community organizations

Gedard's results were not surprising. Central Santo sat 50 percent of the criteria; the established neighborhood of Ferrerías, 75 percent; the slightly more recent Costa del Pueblo, 71 percent; and the fairly recent Santa de las Flores, at 17 percent (Gedard 1961, 148):

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THEY ARE IN CONTACT WITH NEIGHBORHOODS OF HIGHER ECONOMIC STATUS."

My own survey of twenty-five barrios was based upon physical evidence using the technique of urban planners called in the trade a "windshield survey." This technique uses observable characteristics of the built environment to evaluate the consolidation and integration of a neighborhood into the urban fabric (See Appendix B). My criteria included the presence and extent of:

1. Paved streets
2. Sidewalks
3. Electricity and street lighting
4. Multi-story construction
5. Sewage system
6. Piped water supply
7. Landscaping/public space
8. Church
9. School
10. Clinic

Considering that my survey was taken some eight years after Galarza's, the results are very much in line with his results-- Tercerbarrio rated 58 percent integrated; Comita del Pueblo, 43 percent; and Lucha de las Flores, 41 percent. The progress made by Lucha de las Flores in those eight years, as well as observations by other urbanists (e.g. Carrón 1986; FIM-S, 1982), indicates that the process of consolidation follows a classic bell curve-- slow at first,

increasing rapidly as political and economic contacts are solidified, with specialization activities decreasing as needs are met.

The instruments of consolidation within the barrios are the various barrio organizations, particularly the *cooperativas*, the *comités de vivienda*, and the *comités barriales*. The leverage of these groups is increased through their membership in sector-wide organizations, such as the *Federación de Barrios Populares del Noroccidente de Quito*. This organization is composed of nine *comités barriales*, fifteen *grupos juveniles*, eleven *grupos culturales*, eight *comités de padres*, and three *grupos de mujeres* (CUEVAS 1988, 44).

Although tolerance of the state for various forms of protest has varied depending upon the political party in

power, in general Ecuador has followed a non-violent path of accommodation. As a result, barrio organizations do not have a belligerent attitude toward the state, but rather one

Table 3-5  
Political Action of Barrio  
Organizations in the 1970s

National Strikes	14
Transportation Protests	18
Quest of Living Protests	17
Marches for Barrios	24
Acts of Solidarity	18

Source: Garcia 1985

of positive expectations, as the case of *huelga de los Patrones* illustrates (Garcia 1985, 39). Table 3-5 indicates the participation of barrio organizations in various forms of



political action during the 1970s. This was a period during which barrio organizations adopted an agenda directly in conflict with the neo-liberal agenda of the state (García 1983, 74). María Neda summarizes the process of integration and incorporation of barrios populares into the city:

Whereas, then, the types of barrios populares express the modes of insertion . . . of the classes trabajadoras en el proceso urbano de la ciudad, pero las modalidades de organización barrial responden a las demandas que genera un proceso dado de esa particular inserción una fase determinada del proceso urbano demandan aún las más radicales . . . finalmente generadas en el marco de la descomposición política sobre las acciones explotadoras, en el marco de las instituciones y de sus maneras de hacer cosas. Y el momento de la organización depende, entre otras cosas, de la especificidad conjunturas políticas y sociales locales y nacionales.<sup>12</sup> (García 1983, 13)

In order to accomplish their goals, barrio organizations develop contacts with numerous state and city agencies. Table 3-7 on the next page indicates the contacts that the two major barrio organizations had over the period of one year with governmental institutions.

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<sup>12</sup>"Well, then, these types of barrios are expressions of the integration of the working class into the urban life of the city. The organizations that are working therefore respond to the conditions of the moment, which are determined by the urban process. These demands, even the most radical, are subject to constant political forces and established institutional procedures. The success of the barrio organization's agenda depends upon the conjunction of political and social forces on the local and national levels."

With the state, reconciliation with the demands of the popular sector has been in progress during the 1990s and even under the conservative presidency of Aída García.

Table 3-4  
Contact with Government  
Agencies by Barrio  
Organizations (One Year)

Mayer	61
Municipality	51
Minister of Education	3
Minister of Justice	7
Minister of Finance	3
Min. Agr. & Cattle	3
Ministry of Congress	8
Minister of Defense	3
Ministry of Health	4
Ministry of Labor	3

Source: García 1995

Relations with the city have varied from negative when García was mayor to acceptance by Álvaro Fierro, integration under Gustavo Machado, and accommodation under the current mayor, José Meléndez. Witt, who is himself an architect and planner (Machado 1995, 171).

While reaffirming the right of private property, the Constitution of 1971 institutionalized the integration of barrios populares by legalizing the expropriation of unused land for non-profit purposes (García 1995, 163). In 1991, the national government passed a law giving the government of Quito the right to regulate informal settlements, rather than requiring citizens to petition the national assembly. In 1995, this law was expanded to include the entire metropolitan district (García 1995, 165).

By this time, the informal process of land settlement had become a structured process. Leaders of the various

barrio organizations had formed an effective organization to coordinate land transactions with his own bank to finance construction. Las Asociaciones Mutualistas para el Ahorro y Crédito Pichincha (Parsons Almeida 1994, vi). Loans from both the mutualists and the BCV could be used only for owner-occupied construction. This combination of free land and controls on speculation has resulted in keeping finance costs well below the rate of inflation and construction costs significantly lower than speculative construction. (CRUSA 1992, 84)

The government, on its part, provided loans for land and housing through the BIV, the BHS, and the Junta Nacional de Vivienda (JNV) from 1988, 1990. The combination of public sector accommodation and popular initiative has resulted in facilitating the integration of the marginal sector and their neighborhoods into the economic and physical structure of the city to such an extent that planners and architects have readjusted their concept of marginalia and the popular sector:

Estos sectores no se hallan de ningún modo marginados del sistema sino, al contrario, se hallan perfectamente integrados y comunicados y comunicados para el funcionamiento del mismo.<sup>12</sup> (CRUSA 1992, 11)

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<sup>12</sup>These sectors are not marginal to the system, on the contrary, they are perfectly integrated, necessary, and useful to the functioning of it."

The unexpected and, in many ways, uncontrolled growth of Quito from 1954 to 1974 has not been without its consequences and problems, most of them well-understood by city planners who have interjected their own agenda in the 1992 Plan Distrito Metropolitano (DQM-P 1992, 16-17):

1. Lack of spatial and functional forms
2. Concentration of governmental activities in central area of the city
3. Extension of transportation and infrastructure
4. Illegal occupation of land in ecological areas or areas subject to natural catastrophes
5. Irrational speculation
6. Concentration of commercial activities
7. Consolidation of industry
8. Deficit in urban services
9. Inefficient and irrational transportation system
10. Loss of agricultural land due to speculative development

Although this agenda of deficiencies may be debatable, it is hard to fault their vision for the city:

La sociedad urbana debe buscar los caminos e instrumentos para que se gestione porfiria en nivel de vida digno y una mayor gobernabilidad de nuestra ciudad.<sup>20</sup>  
(DQM-P 1992, 11)

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<sup>20</sup>"Urban society must look for the means and methods to manage growth with dignity of life and good government."

## CHAPTER 6 BASIC SERVICES: THE BEGINNINGS OF URBAN INTEGRATION

1 . . . instead of building houses, governments should build roads, provide water and electricity, and supply school teachers and health workers. (Hilbert 1994, 94)

Although Latin American governments have come under criticism for stalling their progress of subsidized housing, most have been driven by economics to do so and have dedicated their limited resources to extending the urban fabric in the form of basic and social services. In addition to those elements by which we identify an urban environment: street paving and lighting, sewage, storm drainage, parks, and public buildings.

This chapter will address the history and process by which these services have been extended to the herring straddlers in Quito.

### Financing Basic and Social Services

Both the growth of the city and its ability to provide services to its new neighborhoods was a function of industrial and commercial development on both the city and national level, coupled with attendant advances in technology (Hilbert 1994, 95). Latin American cities are provided both financial and infrastructure support from their national governments-- in the case of Quito, support

has been mostly financial through revenues coming in the form of grants and subsidies from the national government. Other sources of income include funds from external agencies other than the State and income from municipal companies and taxes (Burgess 1985, 41). These sources are identified in Quito's budget as tributarias, no tributarias, and expeditivas. Tributarias include conventional taxes, duties, and fees, including special use and intangible taxes. No tributarias represent income from municipal property, revenue sharing from the State, and otherwise unclassified sources of income.<sup>5</sup> Expeditivas are national or international loans or grants earmarked for certain projects or programs prescribed by law (MORJA 1980b, 78). Although many of my sources are critical of municipal policies, all concede that the governments of Quito have been notable for their honesty and commitment to public service (Lara 1982, 284 et al.). Quito is unique among Latin American cities in a number of other aspects that have contributed to its record for delivery of basic and social services (Morja 1980, 124):

1. It has a well-trained bureaucracy and sophisticated political sector

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<sup>5</sup> Tributarias also are not considered "non-tributarias" because they are a legal means of providing the basis of government as long as the contribution goes into public coffers rather than private pockets.

1. The city has developed and managed most of its own public services.
2. Its systems and geography are well-mapped.
4. It has an institutionalized means of legitimizing land ownership.

Beside the wave of urbanization sweeping Latin America, Quito provides its own basic services, which as recently as 1948 included electricity. The city retains control over water treatment and distribution, sanitary sewage systems, sewage treatment, storm water systems, street lighting and paving, trash pick up and disposal. Transportation is an interesting mixture of public and private services, ranging from a state-of-the-art rubber-tired trolley system owned and operated by the city to ancient, owner-operated, ragged square buses. Health services and the educational system are likewise a mix of city, national, and private facilities.

### Integration into the Urban Fabric

El reto de lograr ciudades democráticas y asentadas para todos implica una repartición equitativa de los espacios de las beneficiarias sociales alcanzadas por la sociedad y de las ventajas que tiene el vivir en comunidad en centros poblados." (HINOGA 1990a, 14)

The occupation of under-used land and self-help housing has largely relieved the national and municipal governments from expending its resources on housing. However, the

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<sup>1</sup>The challenge of democratic citizenship implies an equitable distribution of the city's wealth to promote accountability by all to the benefits of living in an urban community.<sup>2</sup>

burden of providing services to these settlements remains squarely in the realm of responsibility of the municipal and, to some extent, the national government. By the 1950s, the modern infrastructure established early in the century was beginning to feel the stress of increased demands. As is the case with any limited resource, it is generally the wealthy segments of society who have first access. The favorable distribution of infrastructure common throughout the world serves to further widen the gap between the rich and the poor. In Quito, areas well-served by infrastructure have seen land values increase. This phenomenon contributes to the continued economic segregation of society. The poor communities where land values are low (CIUDAD NUEVA, El Sol).

According to the 1990 census, 22.9 percent in the urban area of Quito are not served by potable water or sewage

IQM-2 1990, 121. In a case in point, in 1994, 51.3 percent of the barrio that I have used as an example, Lucha de las Fobros, where sewage began in 1912, was still without electricity (Rodriguez 1993, 173).

This deficiency can

Table 4-1  
Priorities for Basic Services in  
Selected Barrios

	no	no	no
Potable Water	0	1	1
Electricity			0
Sewage		1	1
Trash Collection		0	0
Forest Streets		1	

no = Ferrocarril

no = Ciudad del Pueblo

no = Ciudad Lucha de las Fobros

Source: author 1994



partially be explained by the popularity and rapid growth of the decree, but also serves to illustrate the failure of the city to anticipate and meet the needs of its growing population. Interestingly enough, in order of priorities electricity is second to sewage for the more recent decrees (Table 4-1). This order of priorities might be explained by the fact that electricity is easily pilched, while a sewer system requires a substantial installation.<sup>1</sup>

The city has been under enormous pressure, both from within the administration and from outside critics, to correct deficiencies in infrastructure and to do so in an equitable manner. Diego Carrido's comments are typical of this criticism:

La "planificación urbana" . . . es respuesta a la división económica y social de espacio, es la necesidad de inferior la segregación urbana y a desarrollar las zonas territoriales debido a desigual dotación de equipamiento, infraestructura y servicios en los distintos sectores de la ciudad. La zonificación y la determinación del uso del suelo corresponden necesariamente a los criterios de estabilidad territorial y de restricciones urbanas en beneficio de las poderosas propietarios del suelo y los intereses urbanos así como de los grandes constructores constructores y del capital financiero.' (9 Carrido 1978, 178)

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<sup>1</sup>It is common for one person near an electrical distribution source to purchase service legally and then resell service to his neighbors. Always say tap illegally into nearby overhead wires.

<sup>2</sup>By supporting economic and social division, urban planners have reinforced urban segregation in favor of land values, resulting in an unequal distribution of urban amenities, infrastructure, and public services. Zoning and other controls over land use are driven by considerations of the income from land and much in restrictions that benefit powerful land-owners.

the city has not been unresponsive to this criticism. The Dirección de Planificación has produced a "white" paper, Quito: Régimen Distrital del Suelo Propuesto (1980), in which it attempts to rationalize a land-use proposal for Quito based upon Spanish legal traditions and the experience of the neighboring states that Ecuador respects, Colombia and Chile. The central problem is to obtain a balance between private ownership and the good of the urban community. Essentially, the city, through its planning agency, recognizes the de facto illegal occupation of land, proposes an expeditious regularization of these areas, takes responsibility for indemnifying landowners who have lost their land through invasions,<sup>5</sup> establishes ecological and other special areas where invasions will not be permitted, and commits the city to the integration of peripheral and marginal areas into the city through the extension of infrastructure and social services (DGP-3, 1980). In Quito, Ciudad y Población (1980), the planning department identifies those barrios considered critical in terms of poverty and lack of services. Most are located in the northern sector

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invernales and those holding urban real estate, such as large building corporations and firms.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Generally, the city secures indemnification of land owners by guaranteeing payments by those occupying the land through either the INC or IELI, as was the case of Lomas de los Pájaros. Other considerations may be made to legal system to compensate any difference between national value and an established purchase price that may be below market value.

of the city. These areas are targeted at the highest priority for intervention by the city and state (CGH-S 1955, 20-21). Interventions would include:

1. Extension of basic services to improve the health of the neighborhood (sanitary sewer, potable water)
2. Extension of social services and public assistance (schools, day care centers, job training centers)
3. Legislation of tenancy
4. Integration of work force into urban economy (job placement, transportation)
5. Safety (street lighting, police support)
6. Assist in community planning efforts (support of community organizations)
7. Assistance in identifying local, national, and foreign programs that might provide funding and services to the neighborhood
8. Adjustments in costs of services favorable to the community (electric rates, etc.)

As Garcia (1995) points out, neighborhood organizations have not been waiting passively for the city to satisfy their needs:

Aunq se percibiera que la demanda del sectoral por parte de las autoridades competentes, surge en muchos de los casos de las organizaciones populares en las barrios con el objeto de atraer a la municipalidad la satisfacción de ciertas demandas, sobre todo de infraestructura y equipamiento urbano." (Garcia 1995, 44)

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<sup>10</sup>Along with the possibility of local government intervention (during the decade of the revolution), there arose a coordinated effort by the barrio organizations to force the city of satisfy certain of their demands, above all those for infrastructure and urban facilities."

Despite pressures from the barrio organizations and the best intentions of the city, the implementation of neighborhood improvement projects has varied, as a rethinking of the city's history in providing basic and other services will show.

### Electricity Service

Electricity is the one basic service most easily distributed. The U.S. monopoly by Standard Oil of New Jersey had been challenged by a municipal power plant constructed in 1907. In 1944, the mayor of Quito expropriated the Standard Oil operation and formed the Empresa Eléctrica de Quito, SA (EQS). By 1955, this company was serving not only Quito, but also adjacent cantons (Lara 1960, 109, 136). Today, 95 percent of the city is covered by the EQS grid. Only the most recent of barrios may not be covered or are partially or illegally on the grid (CEHSAO 1982, 132; FOM-8/73, 11). In 1968, a nationally coordinated system was established. By 1973, all electrified systems in Ecuador were interconnected, which allowed Quito's utility company to buy from and sell to the national grid. Most of Ecuador's electricity is generated by hydroelectric plants. The generating capacity is generally well in excess of demand, however, during the drought of 1984, brown-outs occurred in Ecuador's major cities, including Quito. Quito's EQS was producing enough electricity for Quito, but

was forced to supply the national grid. The newspaper, *El Comercio*, reported on a national policy to replace its oil-fired generating plants with natural gas, which is plentiful in Ecuador, to secure a larger percentage of electrical generation (August 9, 1989).

### Potable Water

Potable water is far more difficult and costly to distribute than electricity. The treatment plant constructed in 1912 served the city well until the 1950s. In 1942, a tunnel was completed from Lima to Quito to tap into additional water supplies. In 1949, the Empresa Municipal de Agua Potable (EMAP) was created and new treatment facilities came on line. These treatment plants were augmented by new wells and reservoirs (Lara 1982, 277). By 1948, Quito's water company, the Empresa Municipal de Agua Potable de Quito (EMAP-Q), was providing 82,000,000 cubic meters of treated water per year to 1,000,000 inhabitants (Villanueva et al. 1985). The water treatment capacity of the city remains more than adequate. The problem is distribution. In the city center, 77% of the houses are served by potable water; however, on the periphery the number falls to a dismal 7.14. The laying of water pipes represents a significant commitment of resources. It is to the credit of the city that over 80% of the houses in barrios established since 1950 are served by piped water.

(CINDESA 1980a, Table 4). This is even more impressive when one considers the topography of the city and the fact that new settlements are ever more remote.

Despite the city's success, the availability of potable water remains the highest priority of the Amadeo organizations and the most contentious. In order to insure the equitable distribution of water to all members of society, the Ley de Aguas of 1972 declared the State the owner of all water resources of the Nation in the name of the people. As such, the State is responsible for the preservation, rationalization, and redistribution of the water system for the nation. Three national agencies are responsible for these mandates: the Instituto Nacional de Recursos Hídricos (INERHI), the Ministerio de Salud Pública, and the Instituto Nacional de Obras Sanitarias (INOS) (CINDESA 1982, 71). However, the citizens and local districts remain responsible for the treatment and distribution of water to its citizens (CINDESA 1980b, 1981). The province of Pichincha has its own water company, the Empresa Provincial de Agua Potable de Pichincha, which coordinates with the INERHI to service the area of the DMQ that lies outside of the central valley (CINDESA 1982, 71). Despite these organizational efforts and despite the fact that there is no shortage of water, distribution remains incomplete within the DMQ.

**Table 4-3**  
**Percentage of Population Served by Potable Water in**  
**Various Sectors of the City and Source of Potable Water**

AREA	PIPED	DELIVERED	CONNET	SAIF	DAMICAR
City Center	77.8	80.8		1.4	
Southeast	66.8	53.8	15.8	2.8	2.4
Southeast	84.1	71.2	3.8	18.1	31.1
Northwest	19.1		55.1	8.8	46.1
Northeast			7.1	7.1	85.8

Source: CIDRAB 1988.

Briefly, it is not the poorer areas of the south that are not served but the largely working and middle class barrios of the northwest that suffer the greatest deficit

(Table 4-3). This problem is being addressed by four

projects (CIDRAB 1988, 14):

- 1- El Proyecto Maracandete (The Northwest Project), which is a coordinated effort funded in part by the government of Brazil to repair and interconnect water distribution systems in the northwest sector
- 2- El Proyecto de Servicios Básicos a Barrios Urbanes Marginados (Project for Basic Services to Marginalized Urban Neighborhoods), funded by UNICEF, which will extend service to Alacorta, Santa Anita, and La Palida
- 3- El Proyecto Cella Loma-Caracida, 1a Etapa (The Cella Loma-Caracida Project, Phase 1, funded by IDB-2, which will extend potable water to San Rafael, Zona del Muro, and San Enrique
- 4- El Proyecto Cella Loma-Caracida, 2a Etapa (The Cella Loma-Caracida Project, Phase 2, also funded by the city, which will extend service to the Avenida of María Rejón Apilera, Pivall, Comité del Pueblo No. 2, and San Juan de Cangshan

When completed, these projects will significantly reduce the deficit in potable water distribution.

### Sewage and Storm Drainage

Quito has been served by a piped sewage system since the seventeenth century. In 1883, the colonial system was modernized under Mayor Garcia Moron with new pipes laid under the major streets. By the beginning of the twentieth century the quebradas had been piped and filled in. The city's sewage system was completely integrated by 1915. The next major expansion occurred in the 1950s during which time the system was extended to the peripheral barrios of San Juan, El Correo, and La Floresta. In 1982, the city created

Table 4-3  
Percentages Served by Various Sewage System in Various  
Barrios of the City

BARIO	PIPED	COVERED	SEWER TANK	LEAKAGE
City Center	87.8	1.8		1-8
Southwest	76.2	16.7	20.8	4-8
Southwest	78.2	8-8	21-8	13-8
Northern	88.8	11.1	22-8	
Northeast	81.2	8.8	1.2	2-8

Source: CENSA 1984.

The Suprema Municipal de Administraci6n (SMA), which continued to expand the system (Wassenaar et al. 1984). The continued policy of sewage expansion has resulted in 91.38 of the central city served by the city sewage system and



48-51 of the periphery (CUDAS 1990a, Table A7) (See also Table 4-3).

Despite the extensive piping of the city, there remains a serious problem of contamination of the potable water supply. It is estimated that 30 percent of the system leaks and as much as 65 percent is in poor condition (CUDAS 1990, 78). Because of this danger, most of the city's inhabitants boil their water or rely on bottled water for drinking. It is ironic that the city's modern purification plants are pumping out pure water that never reaches its users in a pure state.

To remedy these problems the city merged the agencies responsible for potable water and sewage into one agency, the Empresa Municipal de Abastecimiento y Agua Potable (EMAPAQ) (Mancoske et al. 1995). The success of this agency is particularly critical to the health and safety to those inhabiting the peripheral barrios, an observation not lost on critics of the city administration, who have warned of the dire consequences of inadequate control of contaminated sewage and clean water, as well as trash (CUDAS 1990).

#### Street Cleaning, Trash Picking, and Disposal

Electricity, water, and sewage constitute basic services. In Quito, these services are provided by public utility companies, as are most other public services.

Trash pick-up and street cleaning has been a public function in Quito since colonial times. In 1539, the city was reported to be filling and sanitary conditions abysmal, but by 1485 trash was being picked up and the streets cleaned by Indians as part of the mita.<sup>9</sup> After independence, street cleaners and trash men became employees of the city, cleaning the streets after a rain and heading off trash in carts to nearby quebradas. By the early twentieth century, the city had established public health policies that included animal control, as well as piping and filling the quebradas. In 1920, the city moved to institutionalize trash removal and street cleaning under the name of public health by creating the *Alcaldia de Higiene Municipal*. By 1934, trash pickup had declined to the point that only 70 percent of the city was being served. The cleanliness of the city declined until 1954, when the current mayor created the *Empresa Municipal de Aseo (EMASA)*, separating the responsibilities for street cleaning and trash pickup and disposal from the public health agency. Today, 80 percent of the city is served (Wharson et al, 1991). Although house-to-house pickup is available to only 70 percent of the city's inhabitants, every barrio, except the most recent, has trash collection

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<sup>9</sup>The mita was the colonial system under which the Indians were required to perform public service for a part of each year, usually at tasks considered beneath the dignity of the Spaniards.

area that are served on a regular basis (CIRROS 1981, 83). However, street cleaning is the service remains a community function, as well as the maintenance of public areas such as playgrounds and parks.

#### Street Taxing and Transportation

Improved streets contributed to Quito's early reputation for being filthy, but by 1884 most of colonial Quito's streets had been paved with stone. Stone continued to be the paving material of choice until the early twentieth century. In 1901, the first automobiles arrived in Quito. In 1903, the first public transportation company was established and by 1914 electric trolleys were serving most of the city. As automobiles evolved, they required smoother paving surfaces. In 1921, asphalt paving was introduced and most of the old stone streets were paved over. Private companies continued to provide public transportation, but in 1947, the city established the short lived *Compañía Municipal de Transporte*, which was shut down after only a year. In the meantime, private companies were becoming more organized under the auspices of the *Cooperativa de Transporte Urbana*. Although the *Cooperativa* began as a union of professional drivers it soon emerged as representative of the companies themselves, since most companies consisted of owner-drivers.

During the 1950s, the city continued to support automobiles and the transportation industry by building new roads and tunnels, re-paving old roads, and constructing a large bus station, the Terminal Terrestre. By 1960, there were twenty-two private transportation companies serving the city. Of these, 75 percent were cooperatives and 25 percent were privately held companies. By 1968, there were thirty-nine cooperatives serving seventy routes through the city with 1,130 modern buses and 100 ancient school buses (operated).

In 1966, the city re-entered the transportation market with the Empresa Municipal de Transporte (EMT). This company was established to serve as a standard in reducing pollution and offering modern bus transportation. The EMT competes successfully with private buses in established parts of the city (Whitmore et al 1998). However, the periphery is served only by the ubiquitous, pollution-spewing populares, ancient school buses bought as cheap as those retired by the United States as beyond redemption. The fact that most roads in the periphery are not paved again contributes to the reluctance of companies running modern buses to service these areas. Only 25.4 percent of peripheral neighborhoods have paved streets and even fewer, 28 percent, are accessible by paved roads (ITDAB 1992, p.10).

The irregular layout and topography have made paving projects in these areas difficult and expensive.

The planning agency has been less than supportive of efforts toward mass transportation, being the argument that the low density of peripheral areas will not support mass transit (DPM-4/16 1980, 1981), a situation that their efforts at decentralization will only exacerbate. Despite these propensities, in 1984, the CRT with the support of the city administration put into place in one year's time a sophisticated rubber tire trolley system serving the central third of the valley. The trolley stops serve as nodes for CRT and private buses running on routes that transverse the valley and continue to the periphery to the extent of paved roads. Newspaper articles during the summer of 1980 were enthusiastic and claimed ridership far in excess of predictions. Citizens are justifiably proud of this system and appear to be supporting it, although the fares are about 15 percent higher than first-class bus service and 25 percent higher than the popular ones. Future plans include extension of this system to the northern and southern extremes of the valley.

#### Special Services and Urban Amenities

Latin Americans tend to generate urban amenities, such as playground equipment, bus shelters, street lights, and stopways, as well as the structures and facilities

providing social services, such as schools, community centers, day care centers, and so on, as exemplars. These include educational, health, recreational, community, cultural, sports, and commercial facilities.

Table 4-4  
Participants in Providing Educational Services: Numbers  
of Facilities and Students

	FORMER		PRIVATE		CITY	
	Facilities	Fac.	Facilities	Fac.	Facilities	Fac.
Pre-School	8,218	38	15,395	187		0
Primary	95,294	219	95,313	154	5,153	3
Secondary	88,895	128	47,332	143	1,042	4
Total	192,413	405	158,040	484	6,195	7

Source: FOM-1758 1988

As of 1988, there was a total student population in Quito proper of 387,344. Of this number 4.35 percent attended pre-school, 48.88 percent grade school, and 44.18 percent secondary schools. The educational needs of Quito are met by three sectors: the State, the private sector, and the city (Table 4-4). State schools serve 62.67 percent of the population, while the private sector serves only 24.44 percent and the city 2.88 percent. Schools are located fairly equitably throughout the city relative to the school-age population. There is no busing, although students in secondary schools may have to travel by public transportation to reach their school. However, in general,

the city they have been able to build a large number of small schools in or close to the neighborhoods they serve.

Like housing, school construction has lagged behind the growth of the city. As Table 4-3 indicates, there remains a deficit in services, not surprisingly in the poorer area of the city, the southern sector. On the other hand, inner

city schools show an

Table 4-3  
Student Population in Various Sectors and Facility Deficits

		COLLEGE	ELEMENTARY	NET
PMB	1	2,504	2,415	(881)
	2	2,428	4,214	(1,786)
	3	4,534	4,444	(1,000)
	4	4,458	2,456	1,992
PBI	1	12,409	12,415	(8,000)
	2	28,157	32,315	(4,158)
	3	42,409	25,407	16,992
	4	22,839	17,456	5,383
SEC	1	4,874	28,409	(13,535)
	2	20,713	42,364	(21,651)
	3	32,142	42,493	(10,351)
	4	21,845	28,409	6,564
TOTAL				
PMB	= Kindergarten		1 = South	
PBI	= Primary		2 = South-Center	
SEC	= Secondary		3 = North-Center	
1 1	= Deficit		4 = North	

Source: PMB-1/25 1972

excess of classroom space (1966-67/18 1966, 167-171). It

appears that the projections for city growth have not been coordinated with State and local educational planners. The intra-urban migratory dynamic toward the southern sector and the periphery has not been anticipated or addressed.

Health services, perhaps because of the diverse numbers of institutions providing these services, are much better distributed. Virtually every barrio, except the most recent, are served by a medical clinic (MORAN 1967, 181).

Health care is provided by four major sectors: the State through the Ministry of Health and the IDH; private clinics, hospitals, and institutions; the city; and the military. There are 143 hospitals in Quito proper with 4,183 beds. Just as with the schools system, the major problem is a lack of coordination between the providers. However, each class of provider seems to have found its niche: The Ministry of Health has a network of small hospitals and a major hospital in the central city. The IDH is far more decentralized, providing dispensaries throughout the city, and a major hospital, also in the central city. Private clinics can be found in all neighborhoods, rich and poor, with slightly fewer in the southern suburbs. Like the IDH, but on a much smaller scale, the city tends to serve the poorer neighborhoods. The military provides clinics and a hospital for its active duty personnel and veterans (DHR-M/10 1942, 118-119). Health care in city and State hospitals and clinics is either at minimal cost or free to the poor. Private hospitals and clinics serve those with health insurance or those willing and able to pay.

Some 425 barrieros in Quito have been designated for recreational use. Most of these are maintained by the public works department, but some, particularly in poorer neighborhoods, are maintained by the community. In election



years. There is a flurry of maintenance in early years, followed by four years of neglect. There are parks and athletic fields generously sprinkled throughout Quito. These include children's play grounds, sports parks and facilities, swimming pools, riding trails, botanical gardens, and so on (1988-1918 1992, 118). Although major parks and facilities are centrally located, even the poorest of neighborhoods have a soccer field and a children's playground as indicated on my survey of Insua One Barrios (Appendix B).

In addition to Quito public services and amenities, the city also provides facilities classified as commercial services. These include markets, slaughterhouses, grain and produce storage facilities, and open air markets. More than any other single service, these provide both economic support and a visible link to the rest of the city, which is often drawn to the harbor to purchase goods at the local markets and ferries (open air markets) at prices well below and often of higher quality than those available at the supermarkets.

#### Other Services

The availability of telephone and postal services are often overlooked or discounted as services necessary to the maintenance populace. However, like markets, they provide an indispensable link to the rest of the city and to

the outside world. Telephone service in Quito dates back to 1890. By 1966, there were 5,898 lines in Quito. The system was automated in 1959. Long distance service was introduced in 1943 and microwave came on line in 1967. Satellite communications were instituted in 1979, which coincided with the creation of the International Express Telephones (INTEL). By 1980, 84 percent of the houses in Quito had telephones. In 1982, the telephone company was reorganized as a private company, the Express Ecuatoriana Telefónica (EQUTEL), absorbing the INTEL accounts and expanding service to 72 percent of the city. In 1984, cellular service was introduced (POM-8/18 1986, 148; VASCONOS et al. 1985).

The introduction of cellular phones may completely halt the expansion of wired systems. In other words, telephone service in Ecuador may leap from what is still a primitive system by North American and European standards to a state-of-the-art system. Most residential and even office phones in Quito are still rotary, but cell phones are everywhere in the barrios, the only phone may be at the local tienda (shop), bar, or restaurant; however, cell phones are showing up even in these poor locales.

The postal system is another matter. In the Plaza Reguirio stands a magnificent building constructed between 1892 and 1907, the Palacio de las Correos. It may well be the only significant achievement of the postal system.

Despite the creation of the Empresa Nacional de Correos in 1984, postal service in Ecuador remains seriously deficient by even minimum standards . There is virtually no home-to-home delivery. Everyone, rich and poor, must go to the local postal substation, after the grocery or pharmacy, to pick up their mail. International mail is handled almost exclusively by private companies.

In summary, the city has moved effectively, within fiscal, administrative, and legal constraints, to service the new settlements, although it has not been able to direct or control them. In doing so, the city has allowed the informal sector to pick up the substantial burden of providing affordable housing to its expanding population. The city, for its part, has assumed the cost and responsibility for providing basic and often additional services.

## CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the introduction to my research of the Latin American city in general and Quito specifically, I posed a number of questions and issues that this research would investigate. In this concluding chapter, I will comment on the results. These questions, issues, and research findings are presented below.

1. How does the [Latin American] city work? What is the organization of order? And how do these systems relate to the institutions we are familiar with--state and local agencies, elected officials, private and semi-private service institutions?

In chapter 3, I described the historic origins of the Latin American city that set it apart from North American and Northern European cities. These cities, whose genealogies remained outside European feudalism while retaining a continuous classical cultural tradition through five hundred years of Arabic occupation that was superseded by Italian Renaissance influence, are unique in the Western world. While Northern European and North American cities threw off their religious orientation and industrialized, Latin American cities continued to develop social, cultural, and economic traditions in a non-industrial, although commercial, context always tempered by Roman Catholic

theological traditions. In the case of West-Africa and the Indian nations, these influences were further tempered by those of the indigenous cultures, who, unlike those of North America, continue to play a major part in the cultural and economic life of both city and state.

The effect of this jigsaw of traditions provides the substrate upon which has been grafted a veneer of North American progressive and European liberal theories and institutions. The result is a convoluted and sometimes mystifying bureaucratic system that is confusing and often impenetrable by outsiders.

In Chapter 4, I outlined the administrative and political organization of Ecuador and its capital, Quito, which represents the neo-liberal management level. In Chapter 5, I presented a brief case study of the settlement and legislation of a barrio clandestino, *La Lucha de los Pájaros*. The motivations of the players in this drama--politicians of all stripes, capitalists, the traditional elites, bureaucrats, attorneys, and the Church--are typical of the underlying activities, the relationships, behind political and economic action in Latin America. These relationships of kinship and compadrazgo are part of the system that North American scholars rail, with some disdain, criticism. Although this paper is not intended to be a polemic against those with politically ethnocentric biases,

the scenarios rendered herein indicate a system that works as well, if not better, than the dominant North American paradigms. I would suggest further that those of us who function inside the dominant paradigm might have something to learn from the Latin American urban experience about concepts dear to us, freedom and democracy, as well as some we should perhaps learn more about, respect and courtesy. The urban revolutionists suggest that Latin American cities have evolved into an urban form of citizen participation, a modern interpretation of that classical urban form, the *ciudad*. Although certainly not fully evolved, the informal sector has taken increased responsibility through popular organizations not only for housing, but for the equitable distribution of urban amenities.

- 2 In this study I will establish a basis for recognizing the contributions of the informal sector to the shaping of the Latin American city and show how, in the case of Quito, Ecuador, informal settlements have become integrated into the urban fabric.

The concept of *ciudad* implies the participation of an urban population in civic life. In the Greek *ciudad*, slaves and non-citizens were excluded from the political life of the city. In this dissertation, I have presented the evidence of a number of respected scholars indicating that even that master of society considered "recognized" is, in fact, an integral part of the economic and political life of the Latin American city. Further, I would argue that the

attitude of those holding economic and political power has not been unambiguous, but has rather sought the means of including and integrating the informal sector into the mainstream of economic life. Albeit, the motives for this attitude are less than altruistic. As de Soto (1984) points out, the informal sector represents a significant, largely untapped and under-utilized economic base.

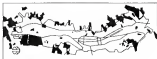


Figure 7-1: Areas of informal settlements as of 1981 from 43

This dissertation has concerned itself with a specific form of participation by the informal sector in civic life: the shaping of the city. Figure 7-1 is a graphic representation of the extent of informal settlement in quite. This map indicates settlement activities both large and small. I have been most concerned with explaining large scale, organized, informal settlement patterns. As extensive as these settlements are, the numerous smaller settlements have served an important urban function as well.

they fill in the vacant lots so characteristic of cities in much of the rest of the world. There are virtually no vacant lots in Latin American cities. If land is unused for the moment, it is usually occupied by a wall. Thus, the urban fabric appears whole, unrent by land sitting idle, waiting for a profitable moment to be sold.

3. Evidence of the integration of informal settlements into the urban fabric . . . based upon the extension of urban services (infrastructure, social, and health services) by the municipality to these settlements and the participation of settlement populations in the economic and political life of the city.

A map shows well enough the geographic expansion of a city, but leaves out an important element: the human dimension. Who are the people who live there? Where did they come from? How did they come to settle where they do? How do they relate to the city? What are their dreams and expectations? How have their lives been changed by the city? How has the city changed their lives? How have they changed the city?

In Chapter 3, I discussed the principles of rural-to-urban migration as it relates to Latin America. In Chapter 4, I made the connection between land reform and urban growth, a connection that is not as obvious as an improvement in the economic climate to urban growth. In Chapter 5, I also pointed out that land reform not only involved rural land, but, in the case of Chile, provided a windfall to the city as it grew to encompass land



confiscated under the various agrarian reform policies of the state. One of these large parcels, the *finca* Hacienda La Cañadilla, is now the site of Quito's largest public park and adjacent financial center. Others became the sites of large public housing projects and still others were occupied informally. I discuss one of the largest of these illegal occupations, *La Lucha de las Flores*, in some detail.

Using a number of case studies by local sociologists, anthropologists, and public health researchers, as well as statistics collected by the city and state, I have offered tables and charts to indicate the occupations, educational levels, and patterns of tenancy of those occupying the new, generally clandestine settlements. These figures tend to support those urbanists who argue that the city has met or exceeded the expectations of its newcomers in economic, educational, and social terms; moreover, city life, rather than destabilizing the family and kinship patterns, has actually improved life, particularly, the lives of women and children.

These rural people have, in turn, brought to the city their traditions of communal, participatory involvement. These ancient organizations, the cooperatives and *barrios* as well as others, have become major political institutions in the city and the means by which citizens with limited economic means can participate in and influence urban

politics and change. In Chapter 4, I have indicated the extent of interaction between neighborhood organizations and government agencies, and, in the case of a study of five barrios, the results of these interactions.

As part of its unbroken contact with the informal sector, Guila has recognized its responsibility to provide services, even to illegal settlements, in return for which the informal sector relieves the city of the financial burden of housing the poor. Despite this recognition, there is always a gap between demand and city services, which at times are a scarce resource. Obtaining these services for its community is the primary concern of most barrio organizations. The provision of these services to a neighborhood represents the successful interaction between city agencies and neighborhood groups. Piped water, paved streets and street lighting, piped sewage, electricity, telephone service, trash pickup, schools, churches, clinics, playgrounds, and community centers are services and facilities that are indisputable evidence of the integration of the neighborhood into the urban fabric. But more importantly, they are the physical representations of the human link, a link that is political, social, and economic, that unites the members of a specific community members also of that greater whole, the nation.

In Chapter 4 and parts of Chapter 5, I have chronicled the development and extension of services to the growing city. I have indicated the disorganization and deficit in services, as well as attempts to remedy this situation. Surveys by the city indicate that the north and peripheral areas are not, as one might expect, nearly as well served as the central city or wealthier areas of the city. My own windshield survey of selected neighborhoods in all sectors of the city did not reveal a great disparity between the southern and northern sectors of the city. I found substantial neighborhoods and evidence of wealth in both sectors. However, my observations of peripheral and recent settlements are in alignment with other more detailed studies.

4. I will show that, although the nature of migration has remained essentially the same from colonial times, the dramatic movement of population from rural areas to urban in the 18th-19th decade that occurred throughout Latin America resulted in a loss of control of the planning function by national and municipal agencies.

In Chapter 3, I point out that migration is not a recent phenomenon in Latin America. Indeed, the factors that lead to migration have remained remarkably constant throughout history, although, the numbers increased substantially in the period under study. A combination of factors, and the level of which was improvement in health and sanitary conditions, contributed to unparalleled rates of urban growth. Although migration started somewhat during

the economic downturn of the 1980s, it is not even to suggest urban growth is easy, if not most. Latin American cities has shifted.

I have given deserved recognition to most Latin American cities for their successful accommodation of that growth, but as I have shown in my study of Quito, that success has come only with the acceptance and facilitation of housing solutions outside of the formal sector, in violation of property laws and building standards, and without direction or control by planning agencies. By and large this solution has worked. Eventually houses are expanded and begin to fit the profile of minimum standards determined by housing authorities. In time, tenure and ownership issues are resolved and, by the next master plan, new neighborhoods show up with planned streets and an orderly harmony of colors indicating land use. However, mistakes do occur, perhaps no more so than in planned, private developments. Hardy (1987) simply reports that squatter houses stood up better than engineered buildings in the last Mexico City earthquake. Nevertheless, there is a serious danger, particularly in Quito, in occupying areas prone to natural disasters. The quebradas are subject to flooding and many of the peripheral areas are prone to landslides. So far the only disasters, besides damage from frequent earthquakes, have been the collapse of a laboratory

apartment building into a ravine and the famous La Cueva landslide that inundated a middle class neighborhood in eight feet of mud. The continued deformation of ecologically protected areas by illegal settlements may accelerate danger of mudslides, as has been suggested by an analysis of the causes of the La Cueva slide.

Quito's planners have made eloquent plans to protect the forests above the city and to prevent landfill and settlement in gullies. Unfortunately, the dynamic of urban growth in Quito has bypassed them. As no time in the occupation, settlement, growth, and legalization of *barrios de las Pumas* was Quito's Dirección de Planificación involved. Neither does this agency show up in any survey of agency contacts by barrio organizations. This is unfortunate because the planning agency is staffed by well-trained men and women whose ideas are worthy of consideration. The master plans produced by this agency are not only valuable sources of historical information, but also represent an assessment and evaluation of existing problems, plans of action addressing these problems, and predictions of problems on the horizon.

On the other hand, Quito's planners have been successful in creating a metropolitan district that is administratively manageable. On the micro level, they have been instrumental in the preservation of Quito's historic

publics and in identifying "at risk" areas--pockets of poverty where basic and social services are seriously deficient. The methodology that they have developed for assessing the degree of integration into the urban fabric of specific communities is far more accurate than the usual windshield survey.

The failure of Quiza's planning agency is one shared by many throughout the world: lack of community and political involvement. Political involvement can ensure an agency's power base, and community involvement can translate into policies that serve community needs.

2. . . . It is critically important that the national and subnational governments of Latin America recognize the power that resides in the urban masses and take steps to legitimize this power within the framework of their political systems.

Latin American governments, with some few exceptions, have escaped from a period of repression to policies of inclusion and accommodation of popular movements, whether political, social, or economic. Ecuador has had a history relatively free of oppression. Nonetheless, the instruments of inclusion and accommodation are still evolving and far from effective. Unlike the poor in the United States, the masses in Latin America are politically organized and likely to take to the streets at the slightest increase in costs that affect them, such as transportation and food. They do not take to the streets over ideological issues. This

program has served them well. The market basket in Ecuador has remained well below inflation and its rate of earnings is better even than most industrialized nations. Likewise, the cost of housing, credit, and land in Quito has for most of the last twenty years been less than the inflation rate (CEUSA 1990, Farabee 1994).

Despite these favorable circumstances, problems remain. Urban poverty is endemic. As one of my sources has said, "Housing is not the problem, poverty is the problem" (Hernan 1990, 1991). Ecuador itself is a poor nation and the wealth of the nation a finite resource. Efforts at redistributing this wealth through public programs, whether infrastructure or social, are often frustrated by corruption and inefficiency on the administrative level. The Latin American institutions of kinship and compadrazgo can be easily abused. Although Quito's utilities have been reorganized on European management models and a civil service system based on merit has been created, the traditional system of favoritism continues to exist beneath the veneer of regulations and procedures. This multi-layered system has its merits and is not likely to disappear. In Quito, this problem is not being ignored. Changes in the traditional system are being brought to trial in the neo-liberal system.

In many Latin American nations, particularly the Andean nations, there exist two levels of city management activities: the established city bureaucracy, and the popular organizations that in essence administer the service, whose traditions lie in the communal organizations of the rural past. Rather than being discrete, exclusive, and competitive as one might expect from the North American political model, these levels of urban management function within a complex environment of written and unwritten rules, regulations, limits, and procedures subject to the equally complex interpersonal relationships prescribed by the Latin American system of *compadrazgo*. This study strongly suggests that these layers of political and economic activities are tectonic in nature; decisions made on one level directed to problems exclusive to that level nonetheless affect the next level. The official level adjusts its interpretation of private property, at least on a specific issue, while radical economic attitudes on the informal level adopt a limited acceptance of property as having an economic value.

In the introduction to this dissertation, I referred to Grant Thrall's categories of research activities: description, explanation, prediction, judgment, and implementation/management. This work has been largely descriptive (Thrall 1996 and Wolford and Thrall 1997).



However, with the intent of contributing to an understanding of the urban dynamic, I have at times provided information and interpretations that extend into the category of explanation. This type of research that is factual and analytical contributes to the final three of Thrall's categories. In the case of this study, it enables us to make predictions about the future of the management of urban growth, to form some value judgments relative to past policies and their effectiveness, and, finally, to base future agendas of implementation and management on knowledge and understanding rather than upon political and economic bias.

Although Quito is unique in many ways, the multiple layers and tormented interaction that I uncovered in Quito's urban dynamic is common throughout Latin America and perhaps also in other areas of the world where traditional rural societies are edging into (and perhaps past) the post-modern social, economic, and political paradigms. And in the thoroughly modern world, Europe and North America, the experience of societies struggling and coping with enormous challenges for housing and urban management may offer new insights into dealing with the inequalities of the industrialized world.

My study has focused on the urban problem of housing and existence that have changed the face of Quito. My

disseminates have given us optimism and even admiration. I have a sense that we are witnessing in Latin American a true urban revolution. Despite the myriad of problems faced by Latin American cities, other urbanists are beginning to recognize these changes. As Richard Morse points out:

What then--the urbanist or urbanologist must ask--are the implications of this urban social invention for reconceiving the city? Clearly we must set aside the guidelines inherited from the classic tradition of city planning that extends from the Renaissance to Geddes, Mumford, and Le Corbusier--an ultimately bourgeois tradition that promotes comfort, services, green spaces, and defense of the resident as masterminded by planners, technicians, and politicians. Now, however, the people are taking over. This is no longer the process of "modernization" that was identified by the "Chicago School" of sociologists, whereby bourgeois entrepreneurs continued to make their profits. It is rather a people's invasion that appropriates the city center, creates its own space for commercial activity, causes deterioration of tourist hotels and promenades, and in suburban locations appropriates the beaches. For the first time since the European conquest, the city is not an intrusive bastion against and central center for the rural domain. The nation has invaded the city; urban physical and social space now reflects national society as a whole. [Morse 1982, 12-13]

## GLOSSARY OF SPANISH TERMS

The following are words used throughout the text that have cultural meanings not easily expressed by a single English equivalent. For instance, this research is about neighborhoods, but there is no single equivalent for the English word, which is too generalized for Spanish speakers; rather, there are numerous Spanish words and phrases indicating location, economic level, social and political status, and so on.

For those who are not familiar with Spanish pronunciation, you will get a closer approximation in your mind's ear if you follow these simple guidelines. Every letter in a word, with the exception of "h," is pronounced. Most letters are pronounced the same as in English except:

- a = ah
- e = eh
- g = pronounced like our "h" except when followed by a consonant or preceded by "n," then pronounced as a hard "g"
- i = pronounced like a long "e" (see)
- j = pronounced more or less like our "h"
- ll = pronounced like our "y"
- ñ = ny (ñor = neighbor)
- rr = not as easy one to pronounce for English speakers, so just use "r," many Latin Americans do this sometimes
- u = uh
- v = b

**Asentamiento popular** = one of many terms used for poor or lower middle class neighborhoods in Quito. A politically correct term generic enough to include "illegal" settlements. See "barrios clandestinos" below.

**Barrios populares**, **barrio** or **vecindad**. Neighborhood organizations dedicated to obtaining basic services, the most critical of which is often sanitary sewage and drainage, call themselves **comités de barrios**.

**Barrio** = neighborhood, generally of the working class and often an informal or illegal settlement.

**Barrios clandestinos** = illegal settlement

**Barrios de obreros.** Literally, a working class neighborhood. **Chaperones**, someone who lives in or came to the city recently from the country. In the Andes, the term **Indigena**, which carries such more cultured baggage, would have the same implication.

**Class** after the upper class including managers in both the private and public sectors, doctors, university professors, engineers, architects, the Ecuadorian bourgeoisie; NOT as someone's designation as in the United States. For instance, a teacher, particularly at the university level, would be a member of this class, but not the wealthy owner of a car dealership or a drug lord for that matter.

**Class worker** Literally, the middle class: wage earners, white collar workers, bureaucrats; the Ecuadorian petit bourgeoisie.

**Cooperativas** an organization based upon public communal organizations, one of many forms of workers' organizations.

**Equipamiento** not equipment in the sense of the word; a better definition is "urban amenities," which may include buildings and their furnishings, as well as playground equipment.

**Indigena** those who dress in traditional native American clothes and retain many of the elements of a traditional lifestyle, estimated to be 1% of the population of Ecuador, not a racial phenotype, since the majority of Ecuadorians have Indian features; you would not refer to or think of the director of a publishing house, a member of the elite class, dressed in suit and tie, as an *indigena*, despite the fact that his skin color, body structure, and facial features are classic native Ecuadorian. However, his kind of dress, even when dressed in western clothes, might still be referred to and even definitely thought of as *indigenista*. There is a term that anthropologists picked up, probably in Peru, which, that refers to Indian dressing in Western clothes. It is generally a derogatory term, but one I have never heard used in Ecuador.

**Marginales** unlike most Spanish words, this is a very non-specific term. It refers to those whose main source of income is from sources other than wages and outside the conventional economic system. In a social sense it refers to those who do not share fully in the benefits offered by the state, i.e. social security and unemployment benefits. This group is by no means inclusively poor, but includes many successful entrepreneurs in transportation, marketing, and import-

- expert. Perhaps a better word would be "informal," but this term is rarely used.
- Organizaciones Barriales**: Literally, "neighbourhood organizations," but refers to community organizations dedicated to discussing basic services.
- Aspirantes**: general term for the lower classes, the Mexican proletariat and, in some cases, the urban proletariat.
- Servicio Basico**: basic services: these are often expected to include:
- abastecimiento de agua**: distribution of potable water, including treatment system
  - alcantarillado**: includes both storm drainage and sewerage. However, sewerage is often specialized
  - servicios higienicos**
  - cara urbana**: street cleaning and trash pickup; the word for trash is **basura**
  - correo**: mail service. house to house mail service does not exist in Quito, mail is picked up at neighbourhood postal sub-stations
  - electrificacion**: electrical distribution system
  - iluminacion**: street and park lighting
  - transporte**: public transportation
- Urbanizaciones**: an upper class development; some of these resemble our suburban developments except for the Spanish predilection to build high walls around their houses right at the property lines. However, single family dwellings are rare even in wealthy neighbourhoods. Most houses are divided into a number of apartments, usually occupied by relatives.

# APPENDIX A SURVEY OF SELECTED BARRIOS

## BARRIO SURVEY

### AGE, OPINIONS, AND CHARACTERISTICS

BARRIO	SEX	AGE	OPINIONS										CHARACTERISTICS										TOTAL
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
BARRIO CENTRAL	SEX	AGE	FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										TOTAL
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
BARRIO CENTRAL	SEX	AGE	FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										TOTAL
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
BARRIO	SEX	AGE	FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										TOTAL
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
BARRIO CENTRAL	SEX	AGE	FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										TOTAL
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										
			FOR THE BARRIO										OF THE BARRIO										

APPENDIX B  
EVALUATION FORM

# BARRIO SURVEY

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

BARRIO \_\_\_\_\_

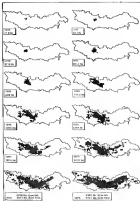
YR. ESTABLISHED \_\_\_\_\_

TYPE \_\_\_\_\_

	CRIBS	POINTS	MAX. POINTS
PIPED WATER			10
ELECTRICITY			10
SEWAGE SYSTEM			10
PAVED STREETS			10
TRASH PICKUP			10
RECREATIONAL AREAS			10
CHURCH			10
SCHOOL			10
CLINIC			10
PERMANENT HOUSING			10
TOTAL POINTS			100

COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX C  
HISTORIC EVOLUTION OF THE GROWTH OF GOITO



Source: Luzzo 1999



# APPENDIX B PATTERNS OF GROWTH IN THE DMQ



1960-1969  
Bakula Development



1970-1979  
Bakula Development  
and Growth



1980-1989  
Bakula Development  
and Growth

Source: PDS-11.

# APPENDIX E POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF SOMALIA



Source: POF 33



APPENDIX C  
LUCHA DE LOS FOMEROS: CHRONOLOGY OF A LAND STRUGGLE

- 1981 December: Initial meeting of approximately one hundred persons.
- 1982 Negotiation with the Cooperative Emancipadora concepción to join FOMER. FOMER CRESC.
- December: CRESC created the pre-cooperative de Vivienda "Juan Montalvo." The directors begin negotiations with the owners of the hacienda Santa Ana to purchase land at a reasonable price under reasonable conditions.
- 1983 April: The pre-cooperative renamed Precooperativa Lucha de los Fomeros. August: Faced with a failure to negotiate a purchase with the owners of the hacienda Santa Ana, the General Assembly of the pre-cooperative authorizes occupation of the land by 300 families.
- After occupying the land, the settlers are organized into districts of a hundred families each. The districts are represented in the General Assembly by a coordinator and speaker. The districts organize groups to oversee the distribution of water, street and road access, construction of latrines, construction of schools and recreational areas.
- The cooperative presented to the national congress a request for a decree of expropriation of the hacienda Santa Ana in favor of the cooperative. The cooperative was supported by a number of congressmen, Jorge Chiriboga.
- September: The Cooperative Lucha de los Fomeros receives legal recognition. A school board is created and construction of a school begins.
- 1984 The national congress approves the appropriation of the hacienda Santa Ana by the cooperative.

1981 March. Contact is made with various institutions to assist in creating a child care center.

July. An agency of the city establishes a child-care system in the barrio.

1983 A "commission for business affairs" is formed to control the price of goods and services necessary to the cooperative. The commission begins a program called "Economía Caserochic," a Spanish phrase meaning "doing business like housewife." This group becomes responsible for the provisioning of the Barrio, the purchase and transport of necessities. Their initial schedule is two truckloads of goods twice a week.

1984 The directors of the cooperative begin negotiations with the city and state for the establishment of a regular open air market. Although no agreement is reached to establish a market, the Ministry of Agriculture agrees that one or two truckloads of rice, sugar, and other products could deliver and sell products on a regular basis.

The cooperative receives a grant to extend electric service to the Barrio. The grant of eighty-seven million pesos (about \$24,000) pays for five lines that effectively serve the public needs of the entire Barrio.

The Banco Constructora de la Vivienda (BCCV) begins extending loans for home construction despite the lack of title for the land.

1987 La Empresa Municipal de Alcantarillado (EMSA) begins work on a sewer and storm drainage system in the Barrio.

1988 La Empresa Electrica Santa Rosa (EESR) initiates electric service to residential users.

The city of Guaya begins construction of a permanent market, which is completed in 1990.

The main street of the Barrio is paved by a joint effort of the Barrio and the city.

1990 Three projects are begun under the Municipio Quito-WHO/UNICEF program "Basic Services for Marginal Urban Areas":

1. Construction of water tanks
2. Construction of a health education center
3. Construction of two septic tanks

The International Children's Foundation begins work on the following projects:

1. An orthodontic medical center, completely equipped
2. Three kindergarten, each with a capacity of thirty-five children
3. Three mini textile factories

At the end of the year, the Fundación Acción Comunitaria Ecuatoriana (FACE) begins a model program for children with learning problems.

1990 City bus service is extended to the barrio.<sup>1</sup>

1990 First popular election of the board of directors of the Cooperative is held.

1990 August 1 Declaration No. 2688 recognizes the barrio as legal.

The cooperative pays the Empresa Municipal Alcantarillado to study the feasibility of constructing a local sewage treatment plant.

The Empresa Municipio de Agua Potable constructed two water tanks to serve the barrio and established the beginnings of a piped system in the barrio.

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<sup>1</sup>Private buses, popularized, had served the barrio from the beginning. For the city bus company, the CRT, to establish a route into the barrio represents an official incorporation of the barrio as part of the urban fabric.

## Summary of Services

potable water	private tanks, some piped
sewage	septic tanks
electricity	yes
telephones	only public phones. 400 private lines in process of being installed
trash	picked up free by drop-off centers
public trans.	municipal service from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m. supplemented by frequent private service
child care	two centers
kindergartens	two
primary school	one
secondary	connected to Colegio Technico Sucre
other	center for adult literacy
health	clinic
culture	two Catholic churches, two evangelical temples cultural center
recreation	soccer field basketball court volleyball court eight playgrounds five public green spaces three bars five community centers
commercial	market open air market weekly retail and small factories
organizations	cooperative (1200 members) sports club (500 members) Barrio committee (400 members) association of small businesses (130 members)

organizations, continued

women's club (88 members)

cultural group (18 members)

Note. From 1944 to 1950 Lucha de los Pájaros received about 4000,000 in direct aid and improvements from the city.



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#### LIST OF MEMBERS

Edardo Baez, Architect, Coordinator General, Fondo de  
Salvamento del Patrimonio Cultural (FOPROC), Quito

Andrés Jarrín, M.A., M.S., Geneva, Consultant Principal,  
Delmas Consultores, S.A., Quito and Guayaquil

Claudia Villenas, Ph.D., Asesor de Gerencia en Sistemas  
(retired), Empresa Eléctrica Quito, S.A.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Joseph B. Coleman is a professional architect and planner. He attended the University of Mississippi as an undergraduate with majors in history and literature and a minor in French. His honors include Phi Kappa Sigma, freshman honorary fraternity. In his senior year, he was recipient of the Stone Lester Memorial Award for literature. He was a University Scholar and graduated with honors in 1961.

Upon graduation, he was offered a fellowship at Claremont Graduate School, where he pursued graduate work in Asian studies. His graduate work was interrupted by the Vietnam war. He served as a naval officer with the Office of Naval Intelligence in Washington, D.C. His last tour of duty was as Air Intelligence Officer for a Tactical Air Control Squadron in Southeast Asia.

Upon release from duty, he returned to school, where he pursued a professional degree in architecture at Tulane University. Upon graduation, Mr. Coleman practiced architecture in New Orleans, Pennsylvania, Savannah, Georgia, Winter Park and Tampa, Florida.

In 1980, he took a sabbatical from architectural practice to return to school. He studied Latin American

history under Dr. Louis Fieser at the University of South Florida, where he received a Master of Arts degree in 1962. He then began his studies at the University of Florida College of Architecture in urban history and theory with a specialization in Latin American urban growth.

Mr. Coleman practices as an architect and urban consultant in Tampa, Florida.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
Richard B. Schriener, Chair  
Associate Professor of TESOL and  
Regional Planning

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
Terry L. Long  
Professor of Latin American Studies

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
David L. Tharrell  
Professor of Geography

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
William C. Adams  
Associate Professor of Architecture

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
William C. Adams  
Associate Research Scholar Division of  
Latin American Studies

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate  
Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate  
Committee and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1964

Dean, College of  
Arts and Sciences

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Dean, Graduate School